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Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

More than Just a Castle

Edited by

Theresa Earenfight



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Contents

List of Illustrations VII

Notes on Contributors VIII

Introduction: Personal Relations, Political Agency, and Economic
Clout in Medieval and Early Modern Royal and Elite Households 1

Theresa Earenfight

- 1 *Domina et Fidelibus Eius*: Elite Households in Tenth-Century Francia
and Anglo-Saxon England 15

Megan Welton

- 2 Maintaining Elite Households in Germany and Italy, 900-1115:
Finances, Control, and Patronage 42

Penelope Nash

- 3 *Æthelings* and their Entourages in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The
Households, Retinues, and Networks of Two Sons of King Æthelred
the Unready 73

David McDermott

- 4 Joan de Valence and Her Household: Domesticity, Management, and
Organization in Transition from Wife to Widow 95

Linda E. Mitchell

- 5 Eleanor of Brittany in Confinement: Problematizing Paradigms of the
Household for Noble Prisoners 115

Eileen Kim

- 6 “All my frendys fro me thei flee”: The Disgraced and Unstable
Household of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester 142

Sally Fisher

- 7 Serving Isabella of France: From Queen Consort to Dowager
Queen 169

Caroline Dunn

- 8 **Political Power-Brokers in the Fifteenth-Century English Royal Household** 202
 Alexander Brondarbit

- 9 **“Our Servants Say Scandalous Things about You:” Royal Households in the Fourteenth-Century Crown of Aragon** 225
 Alana Lord

- 10 **Love, Calumnies, Murders, War, Ambition, and Survival at the Court of King Fernando and Queen Leonor Teles of Portugal (1367-1384)** 248
 Isabel de Pina Baleiras

- 11 **The Portuguese Household of an English Queen: Sources, Purposes, Social Meaning (1387-1415)** 271
 Manuela Santos Silva

- 12 **Royal Household and Political Parties: The Configuration of Ferdinand the Catholic’s Entourage in Castile (1469-1516)** 288
 Germán Gamero Igea

- 13 **Rocking the Cradle and Ruling the World: Queens’ Households in Late Medieval and Early Modern Aragon and France** 309
 Zita Rohr

- 14 **A Precarious Household: Catherine of Aragon in England, 1501-1504** 338
 Theresa Earenfight

- 15 **There and Back Again: The Hospitality and Consumption of a Sixteenth-Century English Travelling Household** 357
 Audrey M. Thorstad

- 16 **The Households of Portuguese *infantes* in the Avis Dynasty: Formation and Autonomy of Alternative Centers of Power in the Sixteenth Century** 378
 Hélder Carvalhal

- Index** 405

List of Illustrations

Figures

- 10.1 Distribution of 145 documents issued by King Fernando, by sectors of governance 253
- 11.1 The Castilian and Leonese territories that constituted the dowry of Philippa of Lancaster in accordance with the Treaty of Ponte de Mouro (1387) 284

Tables

- 7.1 Queen Isabella's household servants 193
- 10.1 Marriages arranged by Queen Leonor Teles, according to Fernão Lopes 257
- 10.2 King Fernando's confiscation of the Castro brothers' goods 261
- 15.1 Date and location of each recorded meal, Stafford's 1508 trip to and from London 365
- 16.1 Nomination of chief officers of the *infantes* Luis, Afonso, Henrique, and Fernando, 1514-1521 (# individuals/year) 384
- 16.2 Marriages of the descendants of King Manuel I 389
- 16.3 Title and autonomy of the household of Manueline *infantes* (early 16th century) 391
- 16.4 Estimated annual income of the Manueline *infantes* in the mid-16th century (millions of *reais* per year) 392
- 16.5 Total payments to servants by *infantes* Fernando, Duarte, and Henrique (*reais*/year) 393
- 16.6 Size of the households of the Manueline *infantes* 395

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Personal Relations, Political Agency, and Economic Clout in Medieval and Early Modern Royal and Elite Households

Theresa Earenfight

Studying a royal or elite household is a distinct form of scholarly voyeurism. We peep into the windows of people who died centuries ago and nose about in their closets and their pantries. Our gaze is scholarly and our intentions are good, but reading accounts of dinners both at home and on the road is not unlike reading the menu of a state dinner at the White House, or the catering accounts for a society wedding in London. It is a bit like reading a lifestyle magazine report on what people wore, who sat where at banquets, who rode at the head of a hunting party, and where people slept when they travelled. We see both women and men, from lowly chamber maids to lofty aristocratic men and women, engaged in the labor of keeping their lords and ladies dressed, fed, bathed, educated, protected, and entertained.

The work recorded in household accounts was vital. A house is a physical structure – a building or place – but when historians talk about the household, they are talking about a group of people who lived and worked under the same roof and engaged in routine activities involved in caring for the well-being of family members.¹ The household was the site of familiarity, friendship, nurturing, intimacy, and sexual intimacy and, regardless of the social rank of the inhabitants, the household was deeply political. It was organized generally in ways that mirrored and reinforced patriarchal values with the husband and wife as the model for ruler and ruled. In practice, however, patriarchal values collided with circumstances. The household was headed by a partnership of husband and wife who were bound, or ought to be bound, by real affection even though dynastic ambition and patriarchal attitudes shaped organization

¹ Christopher Dyer, “Public and Private Lives in the Medieval Household,” in eds I. Davis, M. Muller, S. Rees Jones, *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 237–40; Carol Neel, ed., *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Household, and Children* (Toronto, 2004); and Geoff Egan, *The Medieval Household: Daily Living c. 1150–c.1450* (London: 1998).

and management.² People of all ranks felt the impact of the politics of monarchy, but this was felt most acutely by the people inhabiting and working in medieval and early modern elite and royal households. What they experienced was at best nepotism, but was often – literally – incestuous. The official of the royal court and officers of the household overlapped with those of elite households, creating a wide network of affiliations and obligations that created the personal foundation of monarchy.³ That overlap necessarily links the study of royal and elite households, so that all of the essays here connect, intersect, and at the very least touch on similar themes or refer to the same people. Elite families maintain their own country estates, provide men and women to serve at the royal court, marry princes and princesses, and as Audrey Thorstad shows in her essay on the Duke of Buckingham's travels, were both hosts and guests as they moved from place to place.

Most of the work to date on large households of elite and royal families focuses on England and the essays here by David McDermott, Linda Mitchell, Eileen Kim, Sally Fisher, Caroline Dunn, Alexander Brondarbit, and myself build on impressive foundational work. But it is exciting to see Megan Welton and Penelope Nash take us to Francia, Germany, and Italy; Zita Rohr to France; Alana Lord to the Crown of Aragon; Germàn Gamero Igea to Castile; and Isabel de Pina Baleiras, Manuela Santos Silva, and Hélder Carvalhal to Portugal. The essays have begun important comparative work that extends the links between the royal and elite families as they move across Europe, marry foreigners, and staff their households with ambassadors, tutors, clerics, artists, and soldiers from far afield.

2 Felicity Riddy, "Looking Closely: Authority and Intimacy in the Late Medieval Urban Home," in eds Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 2003), pp. 212-18.

3 For England: David Grummitt, "Household, Politics and Political Morality in the Reign of Henry VII," *Historical Research* 82:217 (2009): 393-411; Richard Heiser, "The Households of the Justiciars of Richard I: An Inquiry into the Second Level of Medieval English Governance," *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990): 223-35; A.R. Myers, *Crown, Household and Parliament in Fifteenth Century England* (London, 1985); idem, "The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, Son of Edward I," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 7:3 (1923): 384-420; A.R. Myers, ed., *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959); Hilda Johnstone, "The Wardrobe and Household Accounts of the Sons of Edward I," *Historical Research* 2:5 (1924): 37-45; L.M. Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Madison, 1904). For Spain: Álvaro Fernández de Códova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I: Ritos y ceremonias de una reina 1474-1504* (Madrid, 2002); and Antonio de la Torre and E.A. de la Torre, eds, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza, Tesorero de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid, 1955).

The size, scope, and interconnectedness make the elite and royal households quite distinct from those of peasants,⁴ the gentry,⁵ and townspeople.⁶ Elite households were larger in size even than those of the most wealthy London burgess or Italian banker.⁷ These great households served the military, were places of entertainment with reception halls for guests, and warrens of diplomatic activity. They were centers of culture that attracted prominent writers, artists, architects, musicians, and dramatists, and sites of conspicuous piety for the lords and ladies who provided the material investment of church furnishings and fabric.⁸ They provided important spaces for both formal and informal economic activity. They were built and furnished in ways that reflected their cultural values and notions of kinship, friendship, and service.⁹ The bedrooms were offices and workplaces such as treasury and chancery, in ways that gentry and bourgeois households were not.¹⁰ These offices had

- 4 Judith M. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague* (Oxford, 1987); Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bind: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1986); R.R. Ring, "Early Medieval Peasant Households in Central Italy," *Journal of Family History* 4:1 (1979): 2-25.
- 5 Joan W. Kirby, "Gentry Households and the Concept of Service in the Later Middle Ages," *Medieval Life* 9 (1998): 25-30.
- 6 Felicity Riddy, "'Burgeis' domesticity in late-medieval England," in eds Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg, *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 14-36; Jane Grenville, "Urban and rural households in the late Middle Ages: a case study from Yorkshire," in eds Kowaleski and Goldberg, *Medieval Domesticity*, pp. 92-123; Sue Margeson, *Norwich Households: Medieval and Post-medieval Finds from Norwich Survey Excavations 1971-78* (Norwich, 1993); and Tine De Moor and Jan Luiten Van Zanden, "Micro-Credit in Late Medieval Waterland: Households and the Efficiency of Capital Markets in Edam en De Zeevang, 1462-1563," *La famiglia nell'economia europea, secoli XIII-XVIII* (2009): 1000-1018.
- 7 Maryanne Kowaleski, "The History of Urban Families in Medieval England," *Journal of Medieval History* 14:1 (1988): 47-63; Sarah Rees Jones, Felicity Riddy, Cordelia Beattie, Charlotte Carpenter, et al., "The Later Medieval English Urban Household," *History Compass* 5:1 (2007): 112-58; Felicity Riddy, "The Concept of Household in Later Medieval Europe," in "The Later Medieval English Urban Household," Rees Jones et al., *History Compass* 4 (2006): 5-10.
- 8 A.B. Wathey, "Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage," PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 1987; and Kate Mertes, "The Household as a Religious Community," in eds Joel Rosenthal and Colin Richmond, *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1987), pp. 123-39.
- 9 Anthony Emery, "Late-medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status," *Historical Research* 78: 200 (2005): 140-61.
- 10 C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999); idem, ed., *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992-95); Kate Mertes,

importance beyond local and regional concerns, making them the focus of social interaction, cultural production and consumption for power brokers, diplomats, and patrons. As the essays in this volume make clear, households followed gender hierarchies but more often than not, the women governing the household – as wife, widow, or single woman – and the nature of the work – from autonomy over the household to serving the lord or lady – defies simple characterization.¹¹

The immediate inspiration for this volume was the 2014 Royal Studies Conference at the University of Winchester that focused on the theme of entourage, a capacious term that encompasses both the politically charged court and the domestic household. The essays focus narrowly on the people of the highest social rank but step back to look at the wider circle around the king and queen that forms their immediate cohort: the extended royal family, the high-ranking aristocrats who served as courtiers, physicians and clerics, and the household attendants of lesser ranks. The focus on elites is narrow, but the argument made by the authors has significant implications for the wider study of monarchy. Brondarbit, McDermott, and Carvalhal build on a substantial body of work on royal courts as administrative centers, but their work actually expands the ambit of king and the institution of monarchy. King and queen remain at the center of the action, but they are by no means alone. Even from country estates, nobles hover around the king, who still has ultimate authority, but these studies show a dispersal of authority among regional families. Unlike studies that focus exclusively on an individual or a close circle of advisers around the king, the essays here show that circle to be wider, and populated with women. It was clear from the papers and the many conversations over tea or gin and tonics, and in email exchanges later, that except for queens regnant, we needed more studies of the queen's court and the women attending her.¹²

The English Noble Household, 1250-1600 (Oxford, 1988); Philip Dixon and Beryl Lott, "The Courtyard and the Tower: Contexts and Symbols in the Development of Late Medieval Great Houses," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 146 (1993): 93-101; and Mark Gardiner, "Buttery and pantry and their antecedents: idea and architecture in the English medieval house," in eds Kowaleski and Goldberg, *Medieval Domesticity*, pp. 37-65.

11 Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, eds. *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2013); Rowena B. Archer, "How ladies ... who live on manors ought to manage their households and estates: Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages," in ed. P.J.P. Goldberg, *Woman is a Worthy Wright: Women in English Society, c. 1200-1500* (Wolfboro Falls, NH, 1992), pp. 149-81.

12 For Isabel of Castile, see Álvaro Fernández de Códrova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I: Ritos y ceremonias de una reina 1474-1504* (Madrid, 2002). For England, see A.R. Myers, "The Household of Queen Margaret of Anjou, 1452-3," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 40:2

Women as heads of gentry and noble households has been studied, notably by Linda E. Mitchell, whose essay on Joan de Valence is chapter four here.¹³ But Megan Welton, Penelope Nash, Caroline Dunn, Isabel de Pina Baleiras, Manuela Santos Silva, and Zita Rohr break new ground in their work that explores the queen's or empress's court and household, while Sally Fisher, Eileen Kim, and I study the households of royal women.

Just as the elite and royal households were dense networks of overlapping affiliations, the essays overlap as the authors converse across time and space. The volume spans a wide swath of time, from c.800 until c.1550, which allows us to trace continuity of practices from the ninth century when royal courts began to take shape, to the mid-sixteenth-century when royal courts became centralized in a capital city. By then, the royal courts had grown larger, were more complex centers of art and culture, and thus more costly to build and maintain. And they were very expensive for the nobles in attendance as the geographic shift forced nobles to keep two households, one in the city near court and one in the countryside.¹⁴ What stayed the same until the eighteenth century, however, was the court and household as the central node of monarchy.

Taken as a whole, the essays are situated at the intersection of several threads of research: court studies (politics in the royal court), economic history (particularly consumption), gender studies (domesticity), family history (household as an extended family), and the history of emotions (affectionate relationships). They explore related themes such as financial and administrative management, itinerant households, the household of an imprisoned

(1958): 391-431; Susan Frye, "Sewing Connections: Elizabeth Tudor, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth Talbot, and Seventeenth-Century Anonymous Needleworkers," in eds Susan Frye and Karen Robertson, *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens. Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 165-82. Most studies of the court of Elizabeth I focus on the men at court. See John Guy, ed., *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995).

13 Linda E. Mitchell, "The Lady is a Lord: Noble Widows and Land in Thirteenth-Century Britain," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques* 18 (1992): 71-97; Elizabeth G. Kunz, "Hospitality, conviviality, and the English gentry: Social networks of the landed elite in late medieval Suffolk," PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 2001; Frances A. Underhill, *For Her Good Estate: Elizabeth de Burgh (1295-1360)* (New York, 1999); Jennifer Ward, "Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (d. 1360)," in eds Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton, *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500* (Rio Grande OH, 1994), pp. 29-45.

14 David Starkey, ed., *The English Court from the War of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987); and Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford, 2001).

noblewoman, blended households, and cultural and political influence. Their sources include narratives, records of court ceremonial, economic records, letters, legal records, wills, and inventories. They also work with a variety of methods, including prosopography, economic history, visual analysis, network analysis, and gift exchange and draw on political, sociological, anthropological, gender, and feminist theories.

By far the most common thematic thread here is the royal household. This is not surprising given the abundance of sources for royal households (records of court ceremonial, economic records, letters, legal records, wills, and inventories) and the attention in recent years on the household as a site of female empowerment, with attention given to economic resources and patronage.¹⁵ Penelope Nash and Megan Walton both use familiar sources – Hincmar of Rheims, for example, as well as diplomatic and legal material – but do so in new ways and draw attention to the potential and importance of comparative history. Walton takes advantage of social network analysis to track the movements, both social and physical, of the households. She investigates the households of three groups of elite women in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England from 800 to 1000: from the elite women who belonged to Charlemagne's family c.800, to the *gubernator* and *Myrcna hlaefdige* Aethelflaed of Mercia c.900, to Queen Gerberga of Francia who died c.968. Nash looks at Empress Adelheid (931-99), her daughter-in-law Empress Theophanu (c.955-91), and Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1046-1115), while Walton compares Queen Bertrada of Francia (c.710/27-783), Queen Gerberga of Francia (c.913-984), and Aethelflaed of Mercia (c.870-918). Nash argues that the management of the household by the two empresses and the countess was key to their success amid the tremendous social, political, and ecclesiastical upheaval during the eleventh century.

David McDermott stays in roughly the same time frame, but tackles the less well-known entourages of *æthelings* (princes) of the tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon kings. Alexander Brondarbit and Alana Lord also look at

15 The earliest work on the queen's household was by Hilda Johnstone: "Poor-relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth-century England," *Speculum* 4:2 (1929): 149-67; and "The Queen's Household," *The English Government at Work* 132 (1940): 7-1336. See also Margaret Howell, "The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort," *English Historical Review* (1987): 372-93; Lars Kjær, "Food, Drink and Ritualised Communication in the Household of Eleanor de Montfort, February to August 1265," *Journal of Medieval History* 37:1 (2011): 75-89; John Carmi Parsons, ed., *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290: An Edition of British Library, Additional Manuscript 35294 with Introduction and Notes* (Toronto, 1977); and M.G. Underwood, "Politics and Piety in the Household of Lady Margaret Beaufort," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987): 39-52.

men at court but from quite distinct perspectives. Like McDermott, Brondarbit looks at England but at the opposite end of the timeline in the fifteenth century. Alana Lord situates her study chronologically between them (fourteenth century) but geographically distant (the Crown of Aragon). Nevertheless, all three authors pose related questions: Were the households completely separate? Or did father, brother, and son perceive their separate household groups as part of one royal household? How did people associated with particular groups facilitate or undermine relationships between royals and their households? What were the risks and rewards for them in doing so?

McDermott uses the *ætheling* Athelstan and his brother Edmund (later King Edmund II Ironside, r. 1016) as a case study to examine the structure and organization of the household of an *ætheling* and he pays particular attention to military entourage, the degree of transference of personnel between the retinues of *æthelings*, their social and political connections, and gift exchange. Brondarbit notes that by the fifteenth century, the royal household had become a bureaucratic machine with wheels greased by the oil of patronage. Royal household officials, even those with a menial position in the royal courts, acted as power-brokers and skillfully navigated multiple avenues of power. In return, they received fees and gifts from patrons which could be converted into political capital.

These depictions of order and concord in the royal household were not always the norm. Lord notes that the idealized image of the royal household presented in Aragonese King Pere III's *Ordenacions de cort* (1344) broke down in practice. A testy exchange of letters between Pere and his son Joan in 1377 and 1378 reveal the existence of multiple households headed by different members of the royal family that was hardly cohesive in its political ideology. Zita Rohr is also interested in political ideology, but from the female point of view. She examines the dynastic households of seven late-medieval French and Aragonese queens to argue that the queen's household worked as both the "store front" and a mirror of the virtues and vices of the woman in charge. The queen's household was a locus with considerable potential for power and authority but she needed to be good at both "talking the talk" and "walking the walk." The queen's ability to exploit the potential of the household as a political space depended on her ability to practice a form of stateswomanship described in conduct books, such as Anne of France's *Lessons for My Daughter*.¹⁶ This mirroring of structure and practice applies broadly to other noblewomen and queens. Linda Mitchell uses enviable sources for her study of the household

16 See also Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose, eds and trans, *The Good Wife's Guide: Le Ménager de Paris, A Medieval Household Book* (Ithaca, 2009).

of the Joan de Valence, the self-described Countess of Pembroke and Lady of Wexford (c.1230-1307): two full years (1295-1297) of the household accounts and a series of sealed receipts in two bundles (1300, 1302). These provide a window into the daily life of one of the wealthiest and most politically important women of thirteenth-century England, revealing changes in Joan's household as she moved from active wife to widow, active in wider local and cultural and social contexts and exercising considerable independence and agency.

But it was not rosy for all women. Two fascinating essays by Sally Fisher and Eileen Kim reveal how noblewomen in medieval England coped with adversity. Fisher studies the household of Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester (c.1400-1452), who in 1441 was found guilty of conspiring to bring about the death of Henry VI.¹⁷ Instead of household accounts and material culture, Fisher works with a contemporary poem, "The Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester," that documents Eleanor's disgrace and charts the associated loss of her household. The poem describes Eleanor's lament as a woman alone, her once-celebrated household represented as an inversion of the ideal and a warning as to the dangers of the powerful woman. Eileen Kim asks the sort of questions a lord or lady would fear: What happens when the head of a household is its prisoner? Is the prisoner the household head? Who pays for her care? She looks at the case of Eleanor of Brittany, daughter of Geoffrey II, Duke of Brittany, and cousin of Henry III, who spent most of her adult life in imprisonment under the successive watches of Richard, John, and Henry III. Held in captivity from 1204 to her death in 1241, she spent the rest of her life in a series of castles-cum-prisons. Using accounts of household consumption and expenditure from Eleanor's confinement in the 1220s, Kim questions traditional models of structure, authority, and government in the household, and offers a case study of incarceration as a unique approach to standards and ideas of household authority. My essay on Catherine of Aragon picks up on a similar theme of an uncertain household, looking at the precariousness of Catherine's abrupt transition in less than six months from Spanish princess to English bride to widow with an uncertain future. For three years, from 1501 to 1504, she was enveloped by a group of loyal Spanish and English women who provided the only constant in her household. These women are the human faces of the household who, in some cases, became steadfast friends whose loyalty extended to her deathbed.

Caroline Dunn also studies a royal household during periods of transition and uncertainty, in this case that of Isabella of France, Queen of England

¹⁷ On a similar theme, see A.R. Myers, *The Captivity of a Royal Witch: The Household Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21* (Manchester, 1940).

during Edward II's controversial reign from 1314 to 1327, and Dowager Queen until 1348. Her essay asks whether the number of Isabella's elite staff declined after her daughter-in-law became queen. Did some of the former queen's attendants move to the new queen's household, or did they remain with Isabella? Did the duties and experiences of the queen's waiting women change significantly over time, and did they suffer for that loyalty? Dunn's prosopographical analysis of two surviving household books (1311-12 and 1358) and extant wardrobe and exchequer manuscripts provides a remarkable glimpse into how households changed in composition and nature as the status of the queen changed from consort to dowager.

Another queen, Leonor Teles (1372-1384) of Portugal, wife of King Fernando of Portugal (1367-83), had to contend with a politically charged court. Isabel de Pina Baleiras analyzes the politics of the royal household using Fernão Lopes' chronicle of a very unstable period. The king was almost poisoned and the queen was left unprotected during the regency and three wars Fernando fought with Castile. Pina Baleiras argues that the nuances of factions can be seen clearly through giving close attention to the circle of courtesans and councilors from the Portuguese royal family and family members from Castile, Galicia, and England whose service could not be trusted amid intrigues, conspiracy, and murders.

The situation had calmed down considerably by 1387 when Philippa of Lancaster (1359-1415) married King João I (1357-1433). As Manuela Santos Silva notes, João created a household for Queen Philippa and paid for it with rents from landed properties. But war between Portugal and Castile constrained her household substantially, which put her at odds with courtier families who needed to be compensated for their efforts and who sought proximity to the king and queen. Santos Silva's essay documents the efforts of Philippa to avoid reducing the number of her household officers and retain autonomy over her household.

Germán Gamero Igea studies one of the most distinctive royal households in western history, that of Isabel of Castile (1451-1504) and Fernando II of Aragon (1452-1516). Although married, they ruled their realms separately, but lived together. Their assertion that "there are no servants of the king or the queen, but of both" created a frustratingly complex situation: the transformation of a courtier system based on loyalty to the sovereigns personally to a structure based on territories. The Castilian royal household became a plural space where servers of the king and the queen coexisted, while the Aragonese royal household became a viceregal system. Igea uses the household, its members and their motivations, to consider changes that went beyond the household and provided the foundation for the structure of the Hapsburg empire.

Two essays on the sixteenth century provide valuable information on the transformation of medieval courts and households to something more modern in scope and purpose, but still, in many ways, unchanged. Audrey Thorstad questions the assumption that the noble household became more stationary in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To a certain extent it did. But the elite of England such as Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, still needed to travel between their residences and London in order to stay connected with the royal court. Buckingham's household book of 1507-8 recorded in great detail the number of household members and guests who were present at each meal, what was served, and where. By analyzing Stafford's travels from his main residence at Thornbury Castle to London in 1508, the social networks, the nature of travel for the nobility, and the cost, Thorstad concludes that moving an immensely complex household was a political act in itself.

Turning back to kings, Hélder Carvalho discusses the formation and political uses of households given to Portuguese *infantes* (princes) in the sixteenth-century, particularly the degree of autonomy of these individuals and their entourages. Beginning in the fifteenth century, royal donations benefited a group of seigniorial lords (among them the *infantes* and other members of the royal family) who were able to create noble households. These varied in size, but all possessed considerable territorial estates and entourages. This tendency continued through the sixteenth century during the reigns of Manuel I (1469-1521) and João III (1502-57). Political influence and economic power conferred more autonomy, which is visible in the moments of competition and cooperation between nobles and the Crown. Carvalho looks at the composition of the court, property, rents, and jurisdictional rights to calculate the standing of elites in the political hierarchy of Portuguese monarchy to judge whether the autonomy achieved was enough to compete effectively as an alternate center of power.

These sixteen essays reveal nuances of influence, agency, gender, and clout that legal records, tax receipts, and statutes simply cannot convey, and make three important points. First, it is nearly impossible to disentangle precisely elites from royals. The elite or royal household was at the center of complex networks of power where hierarchies and networks of political rank and social status in elite households are measured by the intimate tasks one performed for a king or queen. The people around the immediate royal or noble family were dependent on the king and queen, affiliated with them and sometimes fought against them, worked for them, and were promoted by them. The considerable intermarriage among the elites and royal family, and among the elite families at court, resulted in considerable overlap of property, political affiliations, and personnel at court.

Second, there was little change over time. Yes, some families rose and fell, and once in a while a king married a non-noble woman, but the basic hierarchical social structure stayed the same and the work of an elite family did not change substantially. Nobles and wealthy gentry simultaneously served the needs of the king and queen while taking care of their own families and fortunes. Those fortunes were considerable, seen clearly in both architecture and the number of people on the payroll.

Finally, all the authors' work, many informed by feminist and gender theories, makes visible the very real gender dynamics at play in the economic and administrative management of elite households. The households managed by women are far more likely to be precarious, unstable, and at risk when death, anxiety over succession, marital troubles, or factions at court render uncertain a woman's personal and financial status. Men, on the other hand, have the security of easy access to family wealth and property to tide them over during rocky moments.

These relationships reveal the interplay of gender dynamics and the exercise of power in elite and royal households. These relationships were fundamental not only to the day-to-day management of a complex household but also to the wider operations of monarchy but are often concealed from view when the monarchy is studied from the perspective of war, diplomacy, taxation, and law. The essays here shift the location of personal and political power and authority to a wider base of people, of varying ranks, who may not have written the statutes or negotiated the peace treaties, but who populated the households that provided the foundation for social organization.

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Domina et Fidelibus Eius: Elite Households in Tenth-Century Francia and Anglo-Saxon England

Megan Welton

The welfare of early medieval kingdoms depended not only on the king or emperor, but also on the clergy who governed the church, and the aristocratic laity who administered the royal household. In his *De ordine palatii*, Archbishop Hincmar of Reims argued that proper management of the palace by these auxiliaries freed the king to focus on administering his wider realm.¹ By outlining the principles of correct governance for Carloman, the young Frankish king, Hincmar hoped to spark the “restoration of the honor and peace of the church and the kingdom, the governance of the church, and the administration of the royal household within the sacred palace.”² Kingdom, church, and household: these three institutions stood as pillars of the early medieval political order. Should one fall, the other two would soon follow.

Within the Carolingian royal household Hincmar identified three principal administrators: the *apocrisarius* (diplomatic envoy), the archchancellor, and the queen.³ The queen, in particular, was charged with the smooth management of the palace. With the chamberlain, the queen allotted annual gifts, orchestrated arrangements for important assemblies and feasts, cared for foreign legates, and attended matters that directly affected the *honestas palatii*.⁴ The ninth-century queen – along with the *apocrisarius*, archchancellor, masters

1 Hans H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn, 1968), pp. 281–355; Josef Fleckenstein, “Die Struktur des Hofes Karls des Großen im Spiegel von Hincmars *De ordine palatii*,” *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 83 (1976): 5–22; Daniel Eichler, “Karolingische Höfe und Versammlungen-Grundvoraussetzungen,” in ed. Matthias Becher, *Streit am Hof im frühen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 2011), pp. 121–48; and Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2012).

2 “ad reerectionem honoris et pacis ecclesiae ac regni ordinem ecclesiasticum et dispositionem domus regiae in sacro palatio.” Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH) *Fontes Iuris* 3, eds Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer (Hannover, 1980), p. 34; in *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*, trans. Paul Dutton, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 2004), p. 517.

3 Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, pp. 67–72.

4 Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, pp. 72–74.

of lodgings, keepers of the purse, hunters, and other officials – directed household affairs in order to allow the king to concentrate on loftier matters.⁵

Politics did not always conform to Hincmar's ninth-century ideal.⁶ Kings in the tenth century rarely remained long at a single royal residence; the term *palatium* was rarely employed.⁷ Spatial and architectural features were not the only divergences from Hincmar's ideal order. The shape of the administration varied considerably. Governance of the kingdom, and the royal household, was often shared between the king and queen, or between the queen and crucial magnates. Nevertheless, tenth-century courts relied on the household's administrative structure to furnish the daily necessities of food and shelter and to manage royal estates and moveable wealth.

This chapter investigates ruling households headed by two women: Æthelflæd, *hlæfdige* of Mercia (c.870s–918) and Queen Gerberga of Francia (c.913–post 968). Both women controlled their own territories while married and continued to govern their realms after their husbands' deaths. Both women created their own political networks within and outside their familial bonds. Both women fortified carefully chosen *burhs* and *villae* with martial and spiritual defenses. Perhaps most interestingly, both women destroyed the

5 Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, p. 74. For a more extensive discussion of the Carolingian household, see Rachel Stone, "Carolingian Domesticities," in eds Judith Bennett and Ruth Karras, *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 229–45.

6 It has debatable to what extent Hincmar's rendition of the Carolingian court reflected the "real" royal household, whether in his own time or during the court of Louis the Pious, when his (now lost) source, Adalard of Corbie's *libellus*, was composed. See Louis Halphen, "Le 'De ordine palatii' d'Hincmar," *Revue Historique* 183 (1938): 1–9; Brigitte Kasten, *Adalhard von Corbie: Die Biographie eines karolingischen Politikers und Kloostervorstehers* (Düsseldorf, 1985), 72–84; and Janet L. Nelson, "Aachen as a Place of Power," in eds Frans Theuws, Mayke de Jong, and Carine Van Rhijn, *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 217–42, at pp. 226–32.

7 Thomas Zotz, "Palatium publicum, nostrum regium. Bemerkungen zur Königspfalz in der Karolingerzeit," in *Die Pfalz: Probleme einer Begriffsgeschichte vom Kaiserpalast auf dem Palatin bis zum heutigen Regierungsbezirk. Referate und Aussprachen der Arbeitstagung vom 4.–6. Oktober 1988 in St. Martin/Pfalz* (Speyer, 1990), pp. 71–101 at pp. 91–95; idem, "Königspfalz und Herrschaftspraxis im 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhundert," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 120 (1984): 19–46; idem, "Kingship and Palaces in the Ottonian Realm and in the Kingdom of England," in eds David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams, *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 311–30; Stuart Airlie, "The Palace Complex," in eds John Hudson and Ana Rodríguez, *Diverging Paths? The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 255–90; and Simon MacLean, "Palaces, Itineraries and Political Order in the Post-Carolingian Kingdoms," in eds Hudson and Rodríguez, *Diverging Paths?*, pp. 291–320.

households of certain opponents in order to assert their primacy. This chapter argues that tenth-century ruling women adapted to the inherent instability of Anglo-Saxon and Late Carolingian politics by carefully controlling their own households and transforming, or destroying, those of others.

The Elite Women in Question

Æthelflæd and Gerberga both claimed royal lineages, governed extensive realms, and left an extensive historical record. There are, however, significant differences: they bore different titles, faced different challenges, and operated within different political systems. Yet, these similarities and differences make them an excellent paired case to study the creation of stable households within unstable political environments.

Æthelflæd governed Mercia with her husband, Æthelred of Mercia from c.887 to c.911.⁸ She descended from two powerful royal families. Her father, King Alfred (d.899), ruled Wessex for a quarter of a century. Her mother, Ealhswith (d. 902), claimed heritage from the Mercians.⁹ Surviving charters document Æthelflæd's political roles in Mercian politics during her marriage and after her husband's death in 911.¹⁰ She witnessed, intervened, or jointly

8 F.T. Wainwright, "Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians," in ed. H.P.R. Finberg, *Scandinavian England: Collected Papers by F.T. Wainwright* (Chichester, 1975), pp. 305-24; Paul E. Szarmach, "Æthelflæd of Mercia: *Mise en page*," in eds Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe, *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson* (Toronto, 1998), pp. 105-26; Nicola Cumberledge, "Reading between the Lines: The Place of Mercia within an Expanding Wessex," *Midland History* 27 (2002): 1-16; Pauline Stafford, "The Annals of Æthelflæd: Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England," in eds Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham, *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 101-16.

9 Stafford situates Æthelflæd as the ultimate heir to a tradition of strong Mercian queens in "Political Women in Mercia, Eighth to Early Tenth Centuries," in eds Michelle Brown and Carol A. Farr, *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (London, 2001), pp. 35-49. For an overview of Mercian and Wessex diplomatic relations see, Simon Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians," in eds Mark A.S. Blackburn and David N. Dumville, *Kings, Currency, and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1-45.

10 Thereafter, the *MR* refers to Æthelflæd as *Myrcna hlæfdige*, the precise equivalent of Æthelred's title. F.T. Wainwright, "Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians," in ed. Finberg, *Scandinavian England*, p. 309.

issued fifteen of Æthelred's eighteen extant charters from this period.¹¹ In the main narrative source for the period, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (a complicated network of five separate traditions of annals, hereafter *ASC*), Æthelflæd figured prominently in the so-called *Mercian Register* (hereafter *MR*), embedded in MS B, MS C, and MS D.¹² Certainly after Æthelred's death – and, perhaps, some time before his death – Æthelflæd single-handedly led the Mercian people.¹³ She constructed several *burhs* on the vulnerable boundaries of the Mercian kingdom and campaigned against bands of Vikings and Welsh kings.¹⁴

- 11 Hereafter, Anglo-Saxon charters are cited by their 'S number' from P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), rev. ed. at <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/>>, accessed 21 November 2015, followed in brackets by citation of a printed text. In the brackets, the editions are cited by their number in a volume of the Anglo-Saxon Charter series, or, if the volume has not yet been published, by their number in Birch edition. If scholarly consensus has deemed the document a forgery, this is also noted in the brackets. Here: S 223 (*SEHD* 13), S 217 (*BCS* 547), S 220 (*BCS* 557), S 346 (*BCS* 561), S 1441 (*SEHD* 14), S 1628 (*BCS* 577), S 1507 (*WinchNM* 1), S 221 (*BCS* 587), S 367 (*BCS* 603), S 367a (S. Keynes, "A Charter of King Edfward the Elder for Islington," *Historical Research* 66 (1993): 303-16, at p. 310), S 1446 (*SEHD* 15), S 371 (*Glast* 22), S 1280 (*BCS* 608), S 1628 (*CantCC* 100), S 361 (*BCS* 607), S 1282 (*BCS* 616; forgery). For these purposes, the following abbreviations are used: *Abing*: *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. S.E. Kelly, 2 pts, Anglo-Saxon Charters 7-8 (Oxford, 2000-1); *BCS*, followed by number of charter: Walter de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols. (London, 1885-93); *Burt*: *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P.H. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters 2 (Oxford, 1979); *Cantcc*: *Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Nicholas Brooks and S.E. Kelly, 3 pts, Anglo-Saxon Charters 17-19 (Oxford, 2013); *CantStA*: *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. S.E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 4 (Oxford, 1995); *Glast*: *Charters of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. S.E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 15 (Oxford, 2012); *Roch*: *Charters of Rochester*, ed. Alistair Campbell, Anglo-Saxon Charters 1 (London, 1973); *SEHD*, followed by number of charter: *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. F.E. Harmer (Cambridge, 1914); *WinchNM*: *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Sean Miller, Anglo-Saxon Charters 9 (Oxford, 2001)
- 12 Stafford argued that this embedded tradition could have been commissioned by Æthelflæd herself, and perhaps should be renamed "Æthelflæd's Annals." For the sake of convention, I have retained the predominant title of the *MR*. See Charles Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel (787-1001 AD)* (Oxford, 1889), pp. 44-5; Szarmach, "Æthelflæd of Mercia: Mise en Page," pp. 105-26; Stafford, "The Annals of Æthelflæd," pp. 101-16.
- 13 *ASC* 912 B (ed. Taylor, p. 49). *ASC* 912 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 75). *ASC* 913 D (ed. Cubbin, p. 38), *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. M. Swanton (London, 1996), p. 96. *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, '429,' ed. and trans. Joan N. Radner (Dublin, 1978), p. 167.
- 14 For Æthelflæd's construction at *Scergeat* and Bridgnorth, see *ASC* 912 B (ed. Taylor, p. 49) and *ASC* 912 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 75); for Tamworth and Stafford, see *ASC* 913 B (ed. Taylor, p. 50), *ASC* 913 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 75), and *ASC* 913 D (ed. Cubbin, p. 38); for

At times, Æthelflæd allied with the army of her brother, King Edward the Elder (b. c.870-d.924); otherwise, she commanded an independent force.¹⁵ According to the *MR*, Æthelflæd's military reputation was widespread, and in 918, the towns of Leicester and York submitted to her without opposition.¹⁶

Æthelflæd was not styled *regina*, *cwén*, or *cyninges wifæ* during her lifetime. She often signed her charters as *domina Merciorum* and described her governance as "ruling the helm of the Mercians aided by the heavenly piety and bountiful mercy of Christ."¹⁷ In charters jointly issued with Æthelred, Æthelflæd governed and defended the *principatum potestatem* of Mercia as *hláfordas* alongside her husband under the kings of Wessex.¹⁸ The *MR* continually referred to Æthelflæd as *Myrcna hlæfdige* after the death of Æthelred, signifying her position as the *de facto* ruler of the Mercian people.¹⁹ In later medieval sources, Æthelflæd was styled "Queen." In the Fragmentary Annals of Ireland, she was even credited as "Queen of the Saxons."²⁰ She almost certainly was not consecrated queen, but it makes sense why later commentators applied this title. Æthelflæd commanded armies, built fortifications, and coordinated military efforts with the kings of Anglo-Saxon England, while developing political networks throughout the British Isles.²¹

Warwick and Eddisbury, see ASC 914 B (ed. Taylor, p. 49) and ASC 914 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 75); for Runcorn, Chirbury, and *Weadburh*, see ASC 915 B (ed. Taylor, p. 49) and ASC 915 C (ed. O'Keeffe, p. 75). For Æthelflæd's attack on the Welsh king of Brycheiniog, see ASC 916 B (ed. Taylor, p. 60) and ASC 916 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 76). For her attack on Vikings, see ASC 917 B (ed. Taylor, p. 50) and ASC 917 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 76).

15 For instance, as Edward took control of Stamford in 918, Æthelflæd entered Leicester without opposition that same year. ASC 918 B (ed. Taylor, p. 50), ASC 918 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 76), and ASC 918 D (ed. Cubbin, p. 40).

16 ASC 918 B (ed. Taylor, 50), ASC 918 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 76), and ASC 918 D (ed. Cubbin, p. 40).

17 "[i]uuante superna pietate et largiente clementia Christi gubernacula regens Merciorum." S 225 (*Abing* 20).

18 S 221 (*BCS* 587), S 367 (*BCS* 603), S 367a (Keynes, "A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington," p. 310), S 371 (*Glast* 22), S 1280 (*BCS* 608).

19 See note 13.

20 *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, '459,' ed. and trans. Radner, 181. The *Annales Cambriae* labeled Æthelflæd as *regina*. Similarly, the Annals of Ulster, titled her *famosissima regina saxonom*. Stafford considers Æthelflæd "the last Mercian queen;" see "Political Women in Mercia," p. 45ff.

21 *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, '459,' p. 181; *Mercian Register*, a. 918, p. 98.

Gerberga, daughter of King Henry I and Queen Mathilda, was an anointed and consecrated queen.²² She married Duke Gisbert of Lotharingia in 928 and received a substantial dowry in Gisbert's *comitatus*.²³ After Gisbert's accidental death during a campaign with Henry of Bavaria against King Otto I, Gerberga married the significantly younger King Louis IV of Francia; in 939, she was anointed and crowned at Laon.²⁴ As queen consort and queen dowager, Gerberga issued two private charters in her own name, interceded and witnessed at least eighteen royal diplomas, and received confirmation from the Ottonian court for her grant of land to St. Pierre au Mont Blandin.²⁵ The

- 22 Régine Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le Haute Moyen Âge*, ed. eadem (Paris, 2001), pp. 30-52; Simon MacLean, "Making a Difference in Tenth-Century Politics: King Athelstan's Sisters and Frankish Queenship," in eds Paul Fouracre and David Ganz, *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 167-90; idem, "Reform, Queenship and the End of the World in Tenth-Century France: Adso's 'Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist' Reconsidered," *Revue Belge de Philosophie et d'Histoire* 86 (2008): 645-75.
- 23 Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum Gestarum Saxoniarum*, in MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 60, eds G. Waitz and K.A. Kehr (Hanover, 1935), p. 43; Richer of Reims, *Historiae*, c. 19, in MGH *Scriptores* 38, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann (Hanover, 2000), p. 112. Flodoard of Reims, *Histoire de L'Église de Rheims Tome Deuxième (Historia Remensis Ecclesiae)*, IV.35, ed. and trans. M. Lejeune (Reims, 1854), p. 561. See also D. Verhelst, "A. La Requête de Gerberge," in *Adso Dervensis: De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (CCCM) XLV, ed. D. Verhelst (Turnhout, 1976), p. 1. For Gerberga's dowry, see Alain Dierkens and Michel Margue, "Memoria ou damnatio memoriae? L'image de Gislebert, duc de Lotharingie (+ 939)," in ed. Sylvain Gougenheim, *Retour aux sources: Textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse* (Paris, 2004), pp. 869-890, at p. 889; and MacLean, "Reform, Queenship and the End of the World in Tenth-Century France," p. 663.
- 24 Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, IV. 29, in CCCM CL, ed. P. Chiesa (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 118-19. Flodoard of Reims, *Les Annales de Flodoard* a. 939, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1905), p. 74. Richer, *Historiae* I. 19, pp. 111-12.
- 25 See Philippe Lauer and Maurice Prou, eds., *Recueil de actes de Louis IV roi de France (936-954)*, XXII, XXIII, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXI, XXXVIII, XLVII, and LIII, *Chartes et diplôme relatifs à l'histoire de France* 3 (Paris, 1914), pp. 54-107; Louis Halphen and Ferdinand Lot, eds., *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et de Louis V, rois de France (954-987)*, III, IV, VI, XI, XIV, XV, XVII, XXV, XXVI, and XXXI (Paris, 1908), pp. 6-77; William M. Newman, Theodore Evergates, and Giles Constable, eds., *The Cartulary and Charters of Notre-Dame of Homblières* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 665; Claire Bernard, "Étude sur le diplôme, par lequel Gerberge, veuve de Louis IV d'Outremer donne à Saint-Remi de Reims son domaine de Meerssen," *Bulletin de la commission royale d'histoire* 123 (1958): 191-224, at pp. 220-24; T. Sickel, ed., *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I., und Otto I*, MGH *Dip. regum* I.2, 317 (Hanover, 1884), p. 431; idem, *Die Urkunden Otto des III*, MGH *Dip. regum* II.2, 28 (Hanover, 1893), pp. 427-28.

preeminent narratives of the time – including Flodoard's *Annales*, his *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* and Richer's *Historiae* – all devoted significant space to Gerberga's rule in Francia.²⁶ From 939 to her death sometime after 968, Gerberga promoted a Benedictine *renovatio* in religious houses, defended Laon, campaigned with armies, sent delegations to foreign courts, counseled magnates, called together colloquia, and travelled with King Louis IV and Lothar on itinerant circuits throughout Francia.²⁷

Æthelflæd and Gerberga bore different titles, faced different challenges, and operated within different political systems. As leader of the Mercians, Æthelflæd faced the double threat of Vikings and the Welsh, but she does not seem to have encountered opposition from her own people. Nor could King Edward the Elder successfully challenge her authority over the Mercians, even as he assumed control over London and Oxford after Æthelred's death.²⁸ Gerberga, by contrast, did face internal threats directed at her person, property, and household. As Flodoard and Richer made clear, alliances within post-Carolingian Francia changed often, risking territorial control and destabilizing the royal household. As alliances altered, members of the royal household could form rival factions and risk civil war. To face these challenges, Æthelflæd and Gerberga deployed various strategies, most importantly the creation of political networks that bound them to their families, influential magnates, and religious institutions.

26 See also Adso of Montier-en-Der/St-Basle, *Adso Dervensis: De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*, in CCCM XLV, ed. D. Verhelst (Turnhout, 1976) as well as her epitaph in Karl Strecker, *Die Ottonenzeit*, in MGH Poetae latini medii aevi 5 (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 286-87.

27 Newman, Evergates, and Constable, eds, *Cartulary and Charters of Notre-Dame of Homblières*, 2, p. 3; MacLean, "Reform, Queenship and the End of the World," pp. 645-74. For Gerberga's defense of Laon, see Flodoard, *Annales* a. 946, pp. 100-103; for her campaigning, see Flodoard, *Annales* a. 956, p. 143; Richer, *Historiae* III. 6-10, pp. 173-75; for her delegations, see Richer, *Historiae* II. 49, p. 134; for her convocation of a colloquium and subsequent travels with King Lothar, Richer, *Historiae* III. 1-3, pp. 2-5.

28 ASC MS A, a. 911 (ed. Bately, p. 64) and ASC MS D, a. 912 (ed. Cubbin, p. 38). The *MR*, on the other hand, simply stated: *Da ðæs opres geares gefor Æþered Myrcna hlaford*. ASC 911 B (ed. Taylor, p. 49) and ASC 911 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 75).

*“Domina Regina et Fidelibus Eius”*²⁹: The Identifiable Members of
Æthelflæd’s and Gerberga’s Households

In contrast to the ninth-century Carolingian *De ordine palatii*, there are no extant tenth-century Anglo-Saxon or Frankish sources delineating specific positions within the royal household. Tenth-century charters provide scant evidence of specific household titles or functions. However, by identifying religious and political magnates with whom Æthelflæd and Gerberga worked in the witness-lists of those charters, it is possible to discern the outlines of their households. These households formed three overlapping networks: family ties, extra-familial bonds, and connections to religious institutions.

As a family member and *hlæfdige*, Æthelflæd worked within the households of King Alfred, King Edward the Elder, and her husband Æthelred. She also constructed her own distinct household, one evident after the death of Æthelred. While deeply entangled, Æthelflæd’s household comes more fully into view through the identification of the political networks imbedded within her court.

Æthelflæd fostered bonds with both Wessex and Mercian relatives. Æthelflæd and Æthelred held councils with King Alfred at least four times.³⁰ They continued to do so with Alfred’s heir (and Æthelflæd’s brother), King Edward the Elder, in the years following Alfred’s death.³¹ Although few charters were produced in Anglo-Saxon England after 909, the *MR* documented Edward the Elder’s and Æthelflæd’s campaigns against Viking invasions from 910 to Æthelflæd’s death in 918.³² Edward and Æthelflæd built and reinforced a number of *burhs* during this period, but the extent to which these efforts were coordinated remains unclear.³³

29 Quote from Archbishop Artald’s speech before the Council of Ingelheim in 941. Flodoard, *Historia* IV. 35, pp. 563–64.

30 S 223 (*SEHD* 13), S 217 (*BCS* 547), S 346 (*BCS* 561), S 1628 (*CantCC* 100), S 1282 (*BCS* 616; forgery). King Alfred also bequeathed a sword worth 100 mancuses to Æthelred and a manor in Wellow, Hampshire to Æthelflæd in his will. See S 1507 (*WinchNM* 1).

31 S 367 (*BCS* 603), S 367a (Keynes, “A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington,” p. 310), S 371 (*Glast* 22), S 361 (*BCS* 607).

32 See David N. Dumville, “English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 133–64, at pp. 157–58. S.E. Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey: Part 1 (Anglo-Saxon Charters)* VII (Oxford, 2000), p. lxxiii, ft. 9.

33 Wainwright argued that Edward found a pair of “brilliant partners” in Æthelflæd and Æthelred, but that Edward “must be given the credit for the ultimate English recovery;” but others argue that Edward and the Mercian rulers could have worked more independently. See F.T. Wainwright, “North-West Mercia, AD 871–924,” in ed. Finberg, *Scandinavian*

Throughout their marriage, Æthelflæd and Æthelred regularly summoned the Mercian *witan* and co-issued charters that attest to their collaborations: building fortifications around Worcester, supporting the church of St. Peter in that *burh*, constructing Kingsholm outside the walls of Gloucester, and translating the relics of the sainted King Oswald and the Mercian princess Werburgh.³⁴ They also incorporated their only child, Ælfwynn, into their political network in a charter issued around 903.³⁵ Departing from the usual form, Ælfwynn did not witness the charter below her parents; instead, her signature resided in the midst of six *comites*.³⁶ Æthelflæd's manifold relationships to royalty – as daughter, sister, niece, mother, and wife – account for her inclusion in the royal and elite households of Anglo-Saxon England. Yet, her familial role is rarely noted: of seventeen charters she issued or witnessed, only two note a familial relationship.³⁷

Æthelflæd's networks outside of her family can be roughly identified using this diplomatic evidence. In seventeen extant charters, Æthelflæd witnessed or issued charters with twenty-two ealdormen, seven thegns, and thirty-eight witnesses without titles noted.³⁸ Of this grouping, several nobles signed along-

England, pp. 63-129, at p. 88; David Griffiths, "The North-West Frontier," in eds N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill, *Edward the Elder, 899-924* (London, 2001), pp. 167-187; N. Cumberledge, "Reading between the Lines: The Place of Mercia within an Expanding Wessex," *Midland History* 27 (2002): 1-16; Pauline Stafford, "'The Annals of Æthelflæd': Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England," in eds Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham, *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters. Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 101-16, at pp. 112-13.

34 For Æthelflæd's impact on Worcester, see S 223 (*SEHD* 13) and Francesca Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 10-12. For Æthelflæd and Gloucester's ecclesiastical history, see A.T. Thacker, "Chester and Gloucester: Early Ecclesiastical Organization in Two Mercian Burhs," *Northern History* 18 (1982): 199-211. For the politics of translation, see Brigitte Meijns, "The Policy on Relic Translations of Baldwin II of Flanders (879-918), Edward of Wessex (899-924), and Æthelflæd of Mercia (d. 924): A Key to Anglo-Flemish Relations?" in eds David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams, *England in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 473-92.

35 S 367 (*BCS* 603). For Ælfwynn, see Maggie Bailey, "Ælfwynn, Second Lady of the Mercians," in eds Higham and Hill, *Edward the Elder, 889-924*, pp. 112-27.

36 S 367 (*BCS* 603).

37 S 217 (*BCS* 547). Alfred's paternal relationship with Æthelflæd is nowhere noted, although in S 1628 (*BCS* 577) the twelfth-century scribe misidentified Æthelflæd as Alfred's sister.

38 Hart argued that Æthelfrith acted as the "principal lieutenant of Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, in her campaign against the Danes." Cyril Hart, "Athelstan 'Half King' and His Family," *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973): 115-144, at p. 116.

side Æthelflæd on more than one charter. Ealdorman Æthelfrith, identified as the father of Æthelstan Half-King, co-signed with Æthelflæd at least eight times.³⁹ Three more ealdormen witnessed with Æthelflæd on two or more occasions, including Ealdorman Alfred, Ealdorman Ordlaaf, and Ealdorman Ælfwald.⁴⁰ It is difficult to determine what precise roles these men filled in Æthelflæd's household. Yet, it is surely significant that they were recognized as present not just at one *witan*, but at several, suggesting that Æthelflæd travelled with a group of Mercian magnates as part of her household.. She often worked with religious institutions and the clergy during her rule. Bishops frequently witnessed alongside Æthelflæd in the surviving Anglo-Saxon charters: Bishop Wærferth of Worcester (d. 907x915) in at least eleven charters as a witness, recipient, or issuer; the bishops of Hereford and Lichfield in seven, the bishops of Dorchester in five.⁴¹ The survival of a remarkable single-sheet chirograph makes it possible to identify Æthelflæd's religious network outside of the clergy. In this document, Æthelflæd and Æthelred confirmed Much Wenlock's territorial holdings and donated land of their own to the convent. In addition to eighteen hides of land, Æthelflæd and Æthelred bestowed a golden chalice worth thirty mancuses for the memory of Abbess Milburg and to keep the land within the convent's control. The charter is damaged, but it is possible to dis-

39 S 220 (*BCS* 557), S 367 (*BCS* 603), S 367a (Keynes, "A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington," p. 310), S 1280 (*BCS* 608), S 1441 (*SEHD* 14), S 225 (*Abing* 20), S 371 (*Glast* 22), S 361 (*BCS* 607).

40 Ealdorman Alfred: S 225 (*Abing* 20), S 1441 (*SEHD* 14), and S 220 (*BCS* 557). Ealdorman Ordlaaf: S 367 (*BCS* 603) and S 367a (Keynes, "A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington," p. 310). Ealdorman Ælfwald: S 361 (*BCS* 607) and S 367 (*BCS* 603).

41 Bishop Wærferth: S 223 (*SEHD* 13), S 217 (*BCS* 547), S 1628 (*CantCC* 100), S 367 (*BCS* 603), S 367a (Keynes, "A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington," p. 310), S 1280 (*BCS* 608), S 224 (*Burt* 1), S 220 (*BCS* 557), S 346 (*BCS* 561), S 1446 (*SEHD* 15), and S 361 (*BCS* 607). Bishop Cynemund of Hereford: S 220 (*BCS* 557). Bishop Edgar of Hereford: S 367 (*BCS* 603), S 367a (Keynes, "A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington," p. 310), S 1280 (*BCS* 608), S 361 (*BCS* 607), and S 225 (*Abing* 20). Bishop Deorlaaf of Hereford: S 217 (*BCS* 547). Bishop Wulfred of Lichfield: S 217 (*BCS* 547), S 220 (*BCS* 557), and S 346 (*BCS* 561). Bishop Wilfrith of Lichfield: S 367 (*BCS* 603) and S 367a (Keynes, "A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington," p. 310). Bishop Eadfrith of Lichfield: S 224 (*Burt* 1). Bishop Ælfwine of Lichfield: S 225 (*Abing* 20). Bishop Ealhheard of Dorchester: S 220 (*BCS* 557) and S 346 (*BCS* 561). Bishop Wigmund of Dorchester: S 367 (*BCS* 603), S 367a (Keynes, "A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington," p. 310), and S 361 (*BCS* 607). Two more bishops of Worcester witnessed Æthelflæd's charters, Bishop Æthelhun (S 225 [*Abing* 20]) and Bishop Ealh-hun (S 1141 [*SEHD* 14], S 1446 [*SEHD* 15], and S 361 [*BCS* 607]).

cern at least five female (presumably nuns of Much Wenlock) witnesses among at least thirteen signatures.⁴²

While these nuns, monks, and bishops primarily identified themselves with the *familia* of their religious institutions, they also intersected with Æthelred's and Æthelflæd's households. As charter S 223 documented, Bishop Wærferth and his community received half of the market rights belonging to Æthelred and Æthelflæd in exchange for the spiritual good of daily dedication of prayers, including during each Saturday's mass.⁴³ This *burh*'s churches resounded with praise and prayer for the souls of Æthelred and Æthelflæd, with the additional benefit of their inclusion into St. Peter's *familia* and the repetition of their names and positions as the Mercian rulers in the center of Worcester.⁴⁴

Beyond these charters, there are hints of Æthelflæd's and Æthelred's traveling household. According to Asser, Bishop Wærferth of Worcester was among a number of Mercian learned clergymen called by King Alfred in the 880s to reinvigorate learning at his court.⁴⁵ The scholarly character of the Mercian elite may have continued into the tenth century. According to William of Malmesbury, King Alfred placed his favorite grandson, Athelstan, under the tutelage of Æthelflæd and Æthelred.⁴⁶ If William's report is accurate, Æthelflæd's household would have required at least one tutor for the young prince and presumably other young nobles with whom he could learn.

These extant charters reveal the outlines of Æthelflæd's networks but, for the study of the royal household, they are incomplete. Lost charters, truncated witness-lists, simple mistakes in transcriptions of later cartularies, and the mercurial interests of monks and their archives leave scholars with an incomplete and biased sample of who was at Æthelflæd's court and when. Likewise, the witness-lists bear few specific titles past the top-tier of magnates. Therefore, it is hard to identify what specific functions ealdormen, bishops, and others played within Æthelred's and Æthelflæd's households.

Nevertheless, these networks were vital to the exercise of Mercian authority. The two charters issued by Æthelflæd made a special note of the consensus

42 S 221 (*BCS* 587).

43 S 223 (*SEHD* 13).

44 Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 10–11.

45 Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 10–13; Malcolm Godden, "Wærferth and King Alfred: The Fate of the Old English *Dialogues*," in eds Jane Roberts, Janet L. Nelson, and Malcolm Godden, *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 35–51.

46 William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum I*, ii.133, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 2007), pp. 210–11. Sarah Foot, *Æthelstan: The First King of England* (New Haven, 2011), pp. 12, 34–37.

and counsel of her attending bishops, ealdormen, and thegns.⁴⁷ In a charter issued for a certain Ealhelm, Æthelflæd noted that she completed the exchange of two hides of her land *cum testimonio et consensus meorum amicorum*, while another surviving charter listed the approving counsel of the bishops and Æthelflæd's *optimates*.⁴⁸ These *amicae* and *optimates* link the households of Æthelflæd and her dead husband, Æthelred. Not only did Bishop Wærferth sign charters for each Mercian leader, so did Bishop Edgar of Hereford, Abbot Æthelhun, Ealdorman Æthelfrith, Ealdorman Alfred, and the thegn Eadric.⁴⁹ The specific arrangements have been lost, but the affective ties between Æthelflæd and her household – and their centrality to the exercise of Mercian authority – can be identified and assessed.

Æthelflæd and her household presented a unified front against threats to the safety and welfare of the Mercian realm. Gerberga, by contrast, could not rely on the continual support of the late Carolingian nobles and clergy. However, extant diplomatic evidence suggests that Gerberga sought to construct and fortify her household through networks of familial, aristocratic, and clerical ties much as Æthelflæd did.

Tenth-century Frankish diplomas differed from their Anglo-Saxon counterparts in one critical way: the absence of signatures.⁵⁰ The lack of witnesses in royal diplomas complicates efforts to reconstruct Gerberga's political network. However, late Carolingian diplomas more frequently indicated the counsel and intercessory petitions of specific individuals, including Gerberga, in the body of the charter itself. Additionally, Gerberga issued two of her own diplomas. Private charters in the Frankish realm retained moderately extensive witness-lists. Therefore, even as the *intitulatio* of Gerberga's charters echoed those of Louis IV's and Lothar's diplomas, lists of around twenty magnates were attached to Gerberga's charters.⁵¹

Born into the Ottonian royal family, Gerberga fostered and, at times, challenged, the political bonds between herself, her household, and her siblings. Gerberga's siblings included King Otto I, Duke Henry of Bavaria, Archduke

47 Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians," pp. 1-45. For consensus and late Anglo-Saxon politics see Levi Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013).

48 S 224 (*Burt* 1) and S 225 (*SEHD* 13).

49 For the bishops see ft. 41. For Ealdorman Æthelfrith, see ft. 39. Ealdorman Alfred, see ft. 40; Abbot Æthelhun: S 367a (Keynes, "A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington," p. 310) and S 225 (*SEHD* 13); and Thegn Eadric: S 367 (*S BCS* 603), S 1280 (*BCS* 608), and S 225 (*SEHD* 13).

50 On witness-lists, with relevant bibliography, see Roach, *Kingship and Consent*, 27-28.

51 See ft. 25.

Bruno of Cologne, and *comitissa* Hadwig. Alongside her husband Giselbert, Gerberga conspired with Henry on at least one occasion during an ongoing *coniuratio* against Otto I from 936 to 939.⁵² More civilly, Gerberga sent legates to Otto I's court in 946, pleading for help against Duke Hugh 'the Great' after his capture of King Louis IV and siege of her fortified city, Laon.⁵³ Gerberga attended assemblies with Otto I, the Queen Dowager Mathilda, Empress Adelheid, and others in Francia, Lotharingia, and Saxony.⁵⁴ As dowager queen, Gerberga joined her armed forces with those of Hadwig and Bruno to combat the rebellious Count Reginar III of Hainaut.⁵⁵ She also brought her son, King Lothar, to an important colloquium with Hadwig, her son Hugh, and Bruno to settle territorial control disputed by King Lothar and his cousins.⁵⁶ The line between familial obligation and political maneuver was often obscured in the tenth century, but Gerberga's strong bonds with Hadwig and Bruno and her rebellion with Henry against their brother Otto, demonstrates how malleable political and familial bonds could be in royal households.

As Frankish queen, Gerberga interceded, witnessed, and issued twenty-one charters with King Louis IV and King Lothar.⁵⁷ She performed five functions in those charters: as the king's wife to be prayed for (alongside the king and the church and/or Frankish realm), as an intercessor between the king and a third party, as the witness to previous charters, as the primary requestor, and/or as the issuer of the charter itself. As an intercessor, Gerberga worked with Queen Emma, Lothar's wife, on at least two occasions and once with her younger son, Charles, Duke of Lotharingia.⁵⁸ Gerberga was part of an extensive familial network whose members occupied many of the most prominent political positions in the Ottonian Empire and the Frankish kingdom. Unlike Anglo-Saxon scribal practice concerning Æthelflæd, Frankish and Ottonian scribes consistently noted Gerberga's familial relationships, but this familial network did not necessarily ensure her ability to protect her lands and those magnates in her household.

The fundamental insecurity of Gerberga's household became apparent in 945. According to Richer of Reims, Duke Hugh – Gerberga's brother-in-law and the most powerful magnate of the Frankish realm – orchestrated the capture

52 Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, IV. 34, p. 121.

53 Flodoard, *Historia* IV.32, pp. 548-49; idem, *Annales* a. 946, pp. 101-102; Richer, *Historiae* II. 49, p. 134.

54 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 949, pp. 121-22.

55 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 957, p. 144.

56 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 959, p. 146.

57 See ft. 25.

58 Halphen and Lot, eds, *Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis V*, xxv and xxvi, pp. 58-66.

of King Louis IV by the Northmen and his ransom in return for his sons, four-year-old Lothar and the infant Charles.⁵⁹ Realizing the immense political danger, Gerberga sent her younger son and Bishop Wido of Soissons in Lothar's stead. Upon Louis IV's release, Duke Hugh of Paris, Gerberga's brother-in-law, captured Louis, and demanded the control of the fortified city of Laon.⁶⁰

Gerberga not only lost one of her sons and a political ally, but also risked losing one of her key fortifications. Two major components of her household thus came under attack at once. In response, Gerberga orchestrated two delegations: one to King Edmund of Anglo-Saxon England (who was Louis IV's uncle) and one to King Otto I. She fortified her embassies with men "skilled in speaking," along with her own letter that narrated her version of these events, while entreating their assistance. Both kings sent armed forces to aid her and to restore Louis IV.⁶¹ It is crucial to remember that Otto I could easily have decided to ignore his sister's request; indeed, Hugh sent messengers to arrange a meeting with Otto, who refused to meet his brother-in-law in person and sent Duke Conrad of Lotharingia in his place.⁶² In this political situation, where each party could call upon brotherly responsibility, Otto I had the luxury of deciding which relative to aid. Gerberga's rhetorically skilled legates and her written words might have determined his involvement.

The rift between the royal family and Duke Hugh was mended shortly before the sudden death of Louis IV. As Flodoard related, Hugh sent delegates seeking peace with Louis and, at the same time, requested a meeting with Queen Gerberga. She travelled to meet with Hugh and returned to Reims laden with gifts.⁶³ Later that year, both parties met in Soissons, and a peace was officially concluded. After the sudden death of Louis IV, Gerberga in turn called upon Hugh to meet with her, "seeking his counsel and aid."⁶⁴ This reciprocal relationship guided Lothar through his coronation.⁶⁵

Through her political networks, Gerberga created a strong household that could, when called upon, furnish an army during a year-long siege, support monastic *renovatio*, or suddenly elect a young and inexperienced heir to the throne. She succeeded in one crucial way in which Æthelflæd did not: assuring the succession of her child to govern the realm. Gerberga proved instrumental

59 Richer, *Historiae* II. 48, p. 133.

60 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 945, p. 99.

61 Flodoard, *Historia* IV.32, pp. 548-549; idem, *Annales* a. 946, pp. 101-2; Richer, *Historiae* II. 49, p. 134.

62 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 945, p. 99.

63 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 953, p. 137.

64 "ejus consilium et auxilium petens." Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 954, p. 138.

65 Richer, *Historiae* III.11 and III.111, pp. 4; Lake, trans. *Historiae*, pp. 5.

in gathering support for her young son, Lothar, after Louis IV's death, and toured Francia with him after his coronation to secure allegiances. Æthelflæd's death, on the other hand, ended any semblance of Mercian autonomy. Six months after her death, Edward the Elder stormed Mercia and deprived Æthelflæd's daughter, Ælfwynn, of "all control in Mercia."⁶⁶ Though different, both of these outcomes point to the centrality of Gerberga's and Æthelflæd's position within these households, which, as the next section shall demonstrate, was based in their control of extensive territories.

The Cultivation and Control of Mercian and Frankish Territories

Æthelflæd and Gerberga constructed political networks composed of familial, aristocratic, and foreign diplomatic ties. These ties bound their household together and created the consensus necessary for political action. However, these affective and political ties were liable to alteration. In the face of such instability, Æthelflæd and Gerberga capitalized on the martial and sacred character of select physical sites to increase their control. They established links with central physical locations in Mercia and Francia by reinforcing military fortifications and by securing donations of land and relics to religious institutions affiliated with these towns. But they connected these territories to their own households via different means. While Gerberga faced internal challenges from the Frankish and Lotharingian nobility, Æthelflæd faced pressing threats outside her kingdom from Welsh kings and bands of Vikings. Therefore, the Mercian ruler constructed new *burhs*, while shoring up older towns such as Gloucester and Worcester with economic support and the translation of royal saints.

Æthelflæd and Æthelred both bolstered strategic sites within and on the borders of their Mercian territories with military fortifications and religious centers. The first step concerned *burh* fortification, an important strategy administered by King Alfred and continued by his son, Edward the Elder.⁶⁷ As Edward fortified *burhs* in Bedford, Buckingham, and elsewhere, Æthelflæd constructed and fortified her own *burhs* on other regions.⁶⁸ At one of these locations at least, Æthelflæd issued her own charter as the ruler of the

66 ASC 919 B (ed. Taylor, p. 50). ASC 919 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 76). ASC 919 D (ed. Cubbin, p. 41).

67 Griffiths, "The North-West Frontier," pp. 167-187; Ryan Lavelle, *Alfred's Wars: Sources and Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Warfare in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 212-16.

68 See note 14.

Mercians.⁶⁹ Æthelflæd reinforced the security of her borders by physical fortifications and, at least at *Weadburh*, the production and pronouncement of her *auctoritas* through charters. Meanwhile, she incorporated these locales into her own spatial network by summoning assemblies at these bordering locales, thereby tying the central and peripheral bodies of her household.

Æthelflæd reinforced the economy of the religious institutions of these cities through fortifications of the walls, the gifts of market rights, the translation of important royal relics, and the construction of churches and abbeys.⁷⁰ Bordering the Welsh kingdoms along the River Severn, Gloucester persisted as an important ecclesiastical center from the sixth through the ninth centuries.⁷¹ On the foundations of this town, a renovation occurred during the governance of Æthelred and Æthelflæd. Gloucester transformed into a thriving *burh* with new streets, a mint, a palace just outside its walls at Kingsholm, and a new minster that housed a revered royal saint.⁷² In 909, Æthelflæd translated the relics of St. Oswald (the seventh-century Northumbrian king who died at the hands of the Mercians) from Bardney, Lincolnshire, to a new extra-mural foundation at Kingsholm on the road to the royal palace.⁷³ This combination of saintly protection and military fortifications simultaneously provided Æthelflæd with a platform from which to assert her authority and reinforced the Mercians' security.⁷⁴

Æthelflæd's and Æthelred's concentration on the renewed economic, martial, and spiritual stability of Merican *burhs* is evident in a charter they issued for the church of Worcester sometime between 884 and 901.⁷⁵ Before an assembly of Mercian magnates, this charter recalled how Æthelflæd and Æthelred "ordered to be built the *burh* of Worcester for the defense of all the people, and also therein to exalt the praise of God."⁷⁶ Their *burh* construction, economic

69 S 225 (*Abing* 20).

70 For Æthelflæd at Chester, see Thacker, "Chester and Gloucester," pp. 199-211.

71 Thacker, "Chester and Gloucester," pp. 207-209; and Carolyn Heighway, "Anglo-Saxon Gloucester to AD 1000," in ed. M.L. Faull, *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 35-53.

72 Thacker, "Chester and Gloucester," pp. 207-209, and Heighway, "Anglo-Saxon Gloucester to AD 1000," pp. 35-53.

73 ASC 909 B (ed. Taylor, p. 49). ASC 909 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 75). See Carolyn Heighway "Gloucester and the New Minster of St. Oswald," in eds Higham and Hill, *Edward the Elder*, 899-924, p. 106.

74 Meijns, "The Policy on Relic Translations," pp. 473-92, at p. 486.

75 S 223 (*SEHD* 13).

76 S 223 (*SEHD* 13), "hehtan bewyrcean þa burh æt Weogernaceastre eallum þæm folce to gebeorge 7 eac þæron Godes lof to arærenne." *Anglo-Saxon Worcester*, trans., A.E.E. Jones (Worcester, 1958), pp. 95-96.

development, and religious devotion not only enhanced the praise of God, but also bolstered the governing couple's *fama*. By associating these Mercians with royal saints, the act of publicly proclaiming Æthelflæd's and Æthelred's names within the towns and foundations they supported gave their subjects greater confidence in the security of the realm.

While Æthelflæd developed *burhs* in order to deal with external pressures, Gerberga's territorial undertakings proceeded principally from internal threats. Most notably, Gerberga cultivated the distinctly royal and imperial Carolingian *memoria* associated with Laon and Reims. These cities carried the political memory of royal coronations past, royal tombs, and a history of royal donations to cathedral schools and monasteries in the surrounding areas.⁷⁷ Gerberga coupled this Carolingian *memoria* with the reinstitution of the Benedictine rule in order to demonstrate her, and her *familia*'s, right to govern.

By manipulating the *memoria* of past persons and places, rulers aimed to change the political present. Simon MacLean has demonstrated how Gerberga reactivated her Lotharingian political network in the late 940s through her promulgation of Benedictine reform and monastic patronage, thereby reinforcing Gerberga's and Louis IV's position in Francia as well as extending the king's and queen's influence in Lotharingian affairs.⁷⁸ Gerberga's reputation as an *amatrix ecclesiae* and *mater monachorum* certainly solidified her standing in Francia and Lotharingia, but it constituted only one part of her political agenda.⁷⁹ While working to restore the Benedictine Rule, she focused on the Carolingian royal past in her own charters and the charters in which she intervened. Gerberga placed herself, and her Lotharingian and Frankish *familia*, along a royal continuum that reinforced the sacred and political past and bound Laon and Reims to herself.

Gerberga concentrated her efforts on the fortified city of Laon and the religious and intellectual center of Reims. Laon, an ideal fortress, was constantly besieged by rival claimants to the Frankish throne. Almost a decade after her coronation, Gerberga defended Laon against Duke Hugh with her own men, even as she eventually had to surrender the fortress to ensure the return of the

77 On Laon, see John Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850-930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich, 1978). On Reims, see Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004); Michael E. Moore, "Prologue: Teaching and Learning History in the School of Reims, c.800-950," in eds Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein, *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 19-49; and Jason Glenn, "Master and Community in Tenth-Century Reims, in eds Vaughn and Rubenstein, *Teaching and Learning*, pp. 50-68.

78 MacLean, "Reform, Queenship and the End of the World," 645-74.

79 MacLean, "Reform, Queenship and the End of the World," 645-74.

king.⁸⁰ Reims, a Carolingian intellectual center, figured prominently in the Frankish political imagination. Nearby St. Remi cathedral housed many royal burials and was the site of royal coronations as well as repeated contention over the archbishopric.

As she linked her Lotharingian political networks with her Frankish allies, Gerberga also linked these two cities together in a dialogue of religious reform and a reinvigoration of the Carolingian past, particularly following the sudden death of King Louis IV in 954. After his coronation at St. Remi by Archbishop Artald (who had crowned both Louis IV and Gerberga), “Gerberga and the leading men escorted [Lothar] with great pomp and circumstance to Laon, which is known to have been the seat of kings of old.”⁸¹ While in Laon, Lothar issued five charters, confirming past kings’ donations. One reiterated the Frankish royal family’s historical connections to St. Remi and Reims while particularly emphasizing Gerberga as one “who adores and loves this place before all others.”⁸² Twelve years after Lothar’s coronation, Gerberga issued her own charter to St. Remi, granting 82 manses in the Lotharingian town of Meerssen.⁸³ Scholars have paid particular attention to this charter as Gerberga remembered the *familia* not of her Frankish or Ottonian family, but instead her Lotharingian one. Throughout the charter, Gerberga memorialized Gisbert, encouraging the monks of St. Remi to pray for the souls of her long deceased husband and his parents, Reginar and Albrada. But Gerberga was not only seeking to create a site of *memoria* for her Lotharingian family, as further elements of her charter make clear.

As *Gerberga divina dispensante clementia humilis Francorum regina*, Gerberga referred repeatedly to the long line of donations from previous kings. Additionally, Gerberga gained the backing not only of her own *fideles* – such as her *advocatus*, Count Arnulf II, and Bishop Gerard of Toul – but she also consulted Emperor Otto I.⁸⁴ In this way, Gerberga wove together the three familial and political households to which she belonged. Her donation of her dowried lands in Lotharingia to one of the most historic and royally favored foundations in Francia, undertaken with the support of the Ottonian emperor, established her ability to control her distant territories in Lotharingia, while

80 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 946, p. 103; idem, *Historia* IV. 33, pp. 563–64.

81 Richer, *Historiae* III.2, pp. 171–72; Lake, trans. *Histories*, p. 5; Flodoard, *Annales* a. 954, p. 139.

82 “locum prae ceteris veneratur et diligit.” *Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis V*, IV, pp. 8–10,

83 Bernard, “Étude sur le diplôme, par lequel Gerberge,” pp. 220–24.

84 Bernard, “Étude sur le diplôme, par lequel Gerberge,” pp. 222–23.

also publically displaying the support of her wishes throughout Continental Europe.

In their disparate ways, Æthelflæd and Gerberga capitalized on the historical *memoria* imbedded in select locations while also tying these territories to their own itinerant households. Both Æthelflæd and Gerberga wove together the military defense of their vested interests and the sacred devotion of saints and royal monasteries and their own control over these sites into the fabric of their *familia* and *domus*. Æthelflæd encircled Mercia with fortified *burhs*, but she also imbued the towns of Gloucester and Worcester with economic stability and the sacred security of holy relics. In her last few years, Æthelflæd expanded outwards, capturing viking boroughs and brokering treaties with the Britons. Conversely, Gerberga faced internal threats from Frankish and Lotharingian dukes, but she ensured the coronation of her son after the sudden death of Louis IV. By summoning nobles both from within Francia and peripheral kingdoms, she secured the election of her son in the same city in which Louis IV was crowned and buried. She propagated the continuity of the Carolingian line as an intercessor in an early confirmation charter for St. Remi as well as in her own charters to the same foundation thirteen years later. Æthelflæd and Gerberga cultivated the physical spaces of their households to ensure the security and safety of their kingdoms.

**“Who trains my hands for war, my fingers for battle”:
The Destruction of Enemies’ Households**

Æthelflæd and Gerberga constructed their households by managing their political networks and securing their territorial claims. These ruling women applied the opposite treatment to those who posed a threat to persons or territories associated with their household: intentionally seeking the destruction of their enemies’ *familia* and *domus*.

On at least one occasion, Æthelflæd responded to threats to her authority by destroying foreign households. In June 916, a member of Æthelflæd’s household, Abbot Ecgeberht, was killed with his companions while travelling in Wales.⁸⁵ Æthelflæd retaliated immediately. Three days after she had heard the news, Æthelflæd “sent an army into Wales and broke down *Breconmere*,” the castle of the king of Brycheiniog. While her army destroyed the structure,

85 ASC 916 B (ed. Taylor, p. 50). ASC 916 C (ed. O’Brien O’Keeffe, pp. 77-78). This is the same Abbot Ecgeberht who witnessed a charter issued by Æthelflæd no more than six months prior to Ecgeberht’s murder. See S 225 (*Abing* 20).

they also captured the king's wife and thirty-three residents.⁸⁶ While the fate of the captured members of the Welsh royal household is unknown, Æthelflæd's swift justice reinforced her commitment to the safety and prosperity of those in her own *familia* and *domus*. Æthelflæd endeavored to create an atmosphere of *amicitia* and consensus within her own household to build alliances with those outside her borders. If her household came under threat, however, she responded with the destruction of their estates and the capture of her enemies' closest members.

Gerberga employed a similar strategy to defuse internal challenges. A close reading of Flodoard's and Richer's accounts of Frankish politics reveals the switching alliances, the hostile takeover of *castris* and *villae*, and the seemingly continuous exchange of hostages both within Francia and outside of its borders. As queen and the controller of extensive territory, Gerberga was not immune to these threats to her Lotharingian estates and responded swiftly. In 956, Count Reginar III of Hainaut attempted to seize Gerberga's territory as part of a broader rebellion against Bruno of Cologne.⁸⁷ Though the location of these *reginae possessiones* is unclear, Gerberga's response to Reginar's seizure is not. Gerberga consulted her followers as to the best means of retrieving her *prediis et aedibus*, and then sent her son and others (including Richer of Reims' father, Rodulf) to destroy Reginar's castle, take possession of his wife, children, and soldiers, and bring them back to her.⁸⁸ Only after Reginar had pleaded with Archduke Bruno of Cologne did Gerberga agree to hold a *colloquium* with Reginar for the return of his household. Reginar continued to agitate in Lotharingia until the following year, when Bruno sought the armed assistance of King Lothar, Queen Gerberga, and Countess Hadwig. Reginar was outnumbered, captured by Bruno, and exiled from Lotharingia. Bruno ultimately removed him entirely from his political networks and his territories in Lotharingia.⁸⁹

An elaborate piece of embroidery has been linked to Reginar III's rebellious activities and Gerberga's orchestration of the restoration of her lands. Known as Gerberga's *Kriegsfahne*, this beautifully embroidered silk textile measures

86 "ðæs ymb .iii. niht sende Æthelflæd fyrd on Wealas 7 abræc Brecenanmere." ASC 916 B (ed. Taylor, p. 50). See also ASC 916 C (ed. O'Brien O'Keefe, pp. 77-78); Swanton, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, p. 100.

87 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 956, pp. 142-43. Richer, *Historiae* III.6, p. 174. Flodoard terms these as *reginae vero possessiones, quas illi quondam Gislebertus dux dotis nomine dederat*, while Richer describes them as *aedes regias et predia regalia Gerbergae reginae quae in Belgica errant*.

88 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 956, pp. 142-43.

89 Flodoard, *Annales* a. 957, p. 144.

around 37 cm² and consists of red silk decorated with gold and a variety of other colored silk threads. In the center is depicted Christ in majesty with the *dextera dei* extending from above and the archangels surrounding him on both sides. Below them are depicted Sol and Luna, and below them saints Baso and Hilarius, with Duke Reginar in a supplicant position at these saints' feet. Gerberga (or her commissioned artist) framed this piece with the opening verse of Psalm 143, "Praise be to the Lord my Rock, who trains my hands for war, my fingers for battle."⁹⁰ In light of the hierarchical and sacred iconography alongside the somewhat ambiguous position of Reginar, the extent to which Gerberga's embroidery can be linked with her attack on Reginar's household remains uncertain. Most recently, scholars such as Coatsworth, Gajewski and Seeberg have situated this embroidery in the material tradition of early medieval women as embroiderers of elaborate, and particularly liturgical, textiles.⁹¹

Whatever the precise historical context, Gerberga's choice of text would have been a powerful message for any challenges to her household. Psalm 143 called upon God to deliver His faithful servant from the hand of her enemy by destroying their enemy's household. The verse following this powerful opener continues with praises for God, "my mercy and my refuge, my support and my deliverer, my protector, and I have hoped in him, who subdueth my people under me." In the following seven verses, the narrator calls upon God to destroy the household of their enemies, whose inhabitants "hath spoken vanity, and their right hand is the right hand of iniquity." They entreat God to send forth

90 Hans Horstmann, "Die frühmittelalterliche 'Kriegsfahne' im Kölner Domschatz," *Kölner Domblatt, Jahrbuch des Zentral-Dombau-Vereins* 8-9 (1954): 103-105; Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, "Scs Larius, Scs Baso: zur Herkunft des Kriegsfahne im Kölner Domschatz," *Kölner Domblatt, Jahrbuch des Zentral-Dombau-Vereins* 12-13 (1957): 86-90; Anton von Euw, "Zur Ikonographie der sog. Kriegsfahne im Kölner Domschatz," *Kölner Domblatt, Jahrbuch des Zentral-Dombau-Vereins* 21-22 (1963): 37-48; Susan Marti, "'Kriegsfahne' der Gerberga, wohl aus dem Kloster Saint-Jean, Laon," in ed. Jutta Frings, *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern: Ruhrlandmuseum, die frühen Klöster und Stifte 500-1200* (Munich, 2005), p. 292. I thank Simon MacLean for allowing me to read his unpublished paper presented at the CSIC in Madrid in 2012, which discussed the political context surrounding Gerberga's embroidery.

91 For early medieval textiles and gender, see Elizabeth Coatsworth, "Text and Textile," in eds Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts, *Text, Image, Interpretation* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 187-207, at p. 204; Valerie L. Garver, "Weaving Words in Silk: Women and Inscribed Bands in the Carolingian World," in eds Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 6th ed. (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 33-56; Alexandra Gajewski and Stefanie Seeberg, "Having Her Hand in It? Elite Women as 'Makers' of Textile Art in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval History* 41 (2015): 1-25, at pp.18-21 with color image at p. 19.

lightening, to scatter them to the ends of the earth, and to secure the subdual of the faithful followers of God's people under their control.⁹²

The biblical frame around Gerberga's embroidery underscores the centrality of the household to tenth-century politics. Gerberga not only sought the submission of Reginar; she wanted the destruction of his household. Only after such drastic measures could the queen feel secure that her people and her lands would remain under her control. Æthelflæd counteracted external threats through similar means in the case of Abbot Ecgberht. When threatened with the loss of a *fidelis* or the loss of important territories, both Æthelflæd and Gerberga did not hesitate to unravel the very foundations upon which their enemies' autonomy stood.

Conclusion

Commenting on the inchoate structure of the medieval court in the twelfth century, Walter Map offered an Augustinian analogy: "I am in time, and I speak about time," said Augustine, and he added, 'I do not know what time is.' With similar bewilderment I can say that I am in the court and speak about the court, and God knows (I don't) what the court is."⁹³ The essence of the court was hard to pin down, even for those magnates most firmly embedded in it. Similar problems confront medieval historians seeking to delineate the structure of the early medieval household.

The absence of texts detailing the locations, functions, and personnel involved in the management of tenth-century households impedes our understanding of the precise duties and relationships between the center of the household and its members. This comparative investigation into Æthelflæd's and Gerberga's households has shown that it is possible, despite these difficulties, to demonstrate the centrality of households to the governance of these women. Æthelflæd and Gerberga both constructed familial, religious, and extra-familial ties, and fostered the growth and furthered the development of major martial and spiritual centers. Household ties influenced where these elite women gathered for assemblies and conducted justice, to whom they gave grants of land and other resources, and how they secured the safety of

92 Ps. 143:2 and Ps. 143:8, *The Vulgate Bible, Volume III: The Poetical Books: Douay-Rheims Translation*, ed. and trans. Edgar Swift with Angela M.K. Kinney (Cambridge, MA, 2011), pp. 540-41.

93 *Walter Map: De Nugis Curialium*, eds M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), pp. 1-2.

their own souls and the prosperity of their realms. Likewise, when threatened, Æthelflæd and Gerberga attacked the institution that underwrote their enemies' stability: their households. In capturing their opponents' wives and soldiers and destroying their buildings and territory, Æthelflæd and Gerberga secured the public submission of their opponents and the safety of their own realms.

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Maintaining Elite Households in Germany and Italy, 900-1115: Finances, Control, and Patronage

Penelope Nash

[T]he woman shall thrive, beloved by her people, be cheerful of mind, keep counsel, be liberal with horses and treasures, everywhere at all times before the band of comrades greet first the protector of the nobles with mead, present straightway the first goblets to the prince's hand, and shall know wise counsel for them both together, the householders.¹



The role of the woman as special keeper of the household is recorded in the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon gnomic poet and in *Beowulf*. The lady with the mead cup and the poet's queen retained high status. Her role encompassed counsellor, gift-giver and facilitator of the hierarchy. She was the smoother of relationships within the royal family and among the king's war band by word and gesture.² The woman's role was not only ceremonial. In practice she had a full part to play in the administration of the household and estates.³

The concept of the household as a social and political unit only emerged clearly in about the early eighth century, when management of the household

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- 1 R.K. Gordon, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1926; rev. ed. 1954), p. 311.
- 2 *Beowulf*, in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. and trans. Gordon, pp. 1-62, esp. ch. 10, p. 14; Michael J. Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup: Ritual, Prophecy, and Lordship in the European Warband from La Tène to the Viking Age* (Blackrock, 1996), pp. 2-10; Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 107, 117; Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago, 2003), p. 168; and Stephen Pollington, "The Mead-Hall Community," *Journal of Medieval History* 37:1 (2011): 19-33, esp. p. 28.
- 3 Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England, 450-1500* (London, 1995), pp. 165-67.

incorporated the idea of the ordering of people and goods. The terms “family,” “hearth,” and *mansus* (“farm” or “manor”) were applied to rich and poor houses.⁴ The household encompassed the close kin; the men, women and servants; and those with local affiliations.⁵ Early medieval rulers “existed within a wider political community, or series of communities: the royal household; the groups of learned clerics and advisers which gathered round them; their magnates; and their families.”⁶ The management of the household included the responsibility for supervision of property, especially lands, which supported the household. The royal and ruling households in the late tenth century in Italy and Germany moved from place to place in order to govern territory and people. Consequently, no one place retained an absolute status as the capital, but several served the purposes of housing and displaying the travelling court. Those households were on a bigger scale than smaller domestic households. The household was the basis of family life (widely interpreted), but in connection with noble families it also had a wider political (and economic) significance.

From the early ninth century until the eleventh century reports abounded with laments from men about the loss of their wives because of death or the general move towards clerical celibacy or the increased mobility of the man relative to the geographical stability of his wife, and consequently the forfeiture of her managerial, administrative, and fiscal contributions.⁷ Carolingian documents reported on the significance of the queen’s role.⁸ Of special interest in this regard are the writings of Agobard of Lyons in 833 and of Hincmar of Reims in 882 about the responsibilities of the queen for the *honestas* of the

4 David Herlihy, “The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment,” *Journal of Family History* 8 (1983): 117-21, repr. in ed. Carol Neel, *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Household, & Children* (Toronto, 2004), pp. 193-98.

5 Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, pp. 97-98; Janet L. Nelson, “Rulers and Government,” in ed. Timothy Reuter, *New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume III, c. 900-c. 1024* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 95-129; and Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2012), p. 70.

6 Sarah Hamilton, “Review Article: Early Medieval Rulers and their Modern Biographers,” *Early Medieval Europe* 9:2 (2000): 247-60, esp. p. 260.

7 Einhard, letter of April 836 to Lupus of Ferrieres in ed. P.K. Marshall, *Servati Lupi Epistolae* (Leipzig, 1984), no. 3, pp. 4-6, as cited in Julia M.H. Smith, “Einhard: The Sinner and the Saints,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 13 (2003): 55-77, esp. p. 55; and David Herlihy, “Land, Family and Women in Continental Europe, 701-1200,” in ed. Susan M. Stuard, *Women in Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 13-46, esp. pp. 25-26, 32.

8 *Capitulare de villis*, ed. A. Boretius, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [MGH], *Capitularia regum Francorum, Legum sectio* (1883), 1/32:81-91, 32:16, p. 84; and Valerie Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, 2009), pp. 174-88.

palace, that is, its “moral rectitude” and “seemliness.”⁹ Among other duties, the queen directed the chamberlain, who included oversight of the royal treasury among his obligations. Hence the charge of the treasury, at least in those matters, belonged to the queen. Hincmar’s analysis, whether an ideal or a reality, expressed a model and an expectation. The setting out of such statements and others supports the importance of the queen’s role in the royal household.

Evidence from Ottonian Germany collates well with other studies in this volume with comparable time frames and geographical connections. The inhabitants of England and Francia had connections by birth and marriage through the main woman from my first case study, Empress Adelheid (d. 999). Megan Welton’s essay in this volume expands on the workings of the Carolingian royal court and examines the Anglo-Saxon Æthelflaed (d. 918), *hlæfdige* (Lady) of the Mercians, and Gerberga (d. 969), Queen of the West Franks. David McDermott examines *æthelings* (princes of the royal dynasty who were eligible for the kingship), focusing on Æthelstan (Athelstan, d. 1014) and Edmund (later King Edmund II Ironside, d. 1016), the two eldest sons of King Æthelred II “the Unready”.

Political events in Italy and Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries provide the background for a comparison of two elite female households to be used as case studies. The first is the Ottonian royal household of the latter half of the tenth and early eleventh centuries that exerted influence mainly in Germany and Italy. The principal protagonists were Empress Adelheid (c. 931–99), her two daughters, Emma, queen of the West Franks (c. 948–after 988) and Abbess Mathilda of Quedlinburg (954/early 955–999), and her daughter-in-law, Theophanu (c. 960–91). The second is a comital/margravian household that operated in Northern Italy but with strong ties to Germany.¹⁰ Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1046–1115) initially worked within the household of her mother, Countess Beatrice (between 1013 and 1026–1076), but, after her mother’s death, ran her own household. While the Ottonian and Canossan examples from the

9 “Si qua regina semetipsam regere non novit, quomodo de honestate palatii curam habebit?” Agobard of Lyon, *Liber apologeticus pro filiis Ludovici pii imperatoris*, *Patrologia Latina* [PL] 104: 307–320, 314; “De honestate vero palatii seu specialiter ornamento regali nec non et de donis annuis militum, absque cibo et potu vel equis, ad reginam praecipue et sub ipsa ad reginam praecipue et sub ipsa ad camerarium pertinebat,” Hincmar of Reims, *De ordine palatii*, ed. R. Schieffer, et al., MGH Fontes 3 (1980), ch. 22, p. 72, trans. David Herlihy, *On the Governance of the Palace*, in *The History of Feudalism*, 208–27 (London, 1971), ch. 22, p. 219; and Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 31.

10 Matilda and her mother, Beatrice, ruled the march of Tuscany – hence their margravian titles.

tenth and eleventh to the early twelfth centuries remain the main focus of examination, other contemporary households are used to illustrate relevant practices.

In northern Italy in the early half of the tenth century, margraves of various regions fought for supremacy. At the same time, ruling and influencing women were prominent. Marozia was powerful through her four strategic marriages, as ruler of Rome (928-32), and as supporter of two sons in their ascent to the papacy. Ermengard, who successfully represented the interests of the marches of Tuscany and Ivrea, provided leadership after the battle at Fiorenzuola d'Arda in 923, when King Rudolf II of Burgundy defeated King Berengar I of Italy.¹¹ However, it was only from the middle of the tenth century that Northern Italy began to stabilize under the rule of the Saxon leader, Otto I. Otto's father, Henry I, was elected king by the magnates in 919 and became the first of what was to be known as the Ottonian dynasty. After his father's death in 936, Otto I was similarly elected king by the Frankish and Saxon magnates. In 951 Queen Adelheid, the daughter of Rudolf II, King of Burgundy (912-37) and King of Italy (924-26), and the widow of Lothar, King of Italy (931-50), married Otto I.¹²

The centrality or marginality of the household to power in general is key to opportunities for women to exercise power. In general, women in Germany and Northern Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries had great opportunities in the control of their households. For the first case study, it is instructive to focus on three members of the female Ottonian household. Empress Adelheid, her younger daughter Abbess Mathilda of Quedlinburg, and her daughter-in-law, Empress Theophanu, undertook leading roles in order to manage the Ottonian household in the latter half of the tenth century. The activities of other family members, such as Adelheid's older daughter Emma, queen of the West Franks, also illustrate significant points about elite women and their households. By the late tenth century in the East-Frankish kingdom, the coronation *ordines* presented the new model and female equivalent of the male

11 Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2005), p. 102; Giuseppe Sergi, "The Kingdom of Italy," in ed. Timothy Reuter, *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3, pp. 349 and 352; Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, ed. Albert Bauer and Reinhold Rau, 5th ed., *Liudprandi Opera*, 244-495, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 8 (Darmstadt, 2002), ch. 2.65, p. 342, trans. Paolo Squatriti, *Retribution*, in *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, 41-202 (Washington, 2007), ch. 2.65, p. 103.

12 Giuseppe Sergi, "Kingdom of Italy," p. 357; Cristina La Rocca, *Italy in the Early Middle Ages: 476-1000* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 39-44; Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Death and Life in the Tenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1967), pp. 55-57; and Paolo Golinelli, *Adelaide: Regina Santa d'Europa* (Milan, 2001).

“Mirror of Princes.” With the expanded model, Empress Adelheid was authorized to take on an extended role in the kingdom and empire when, in 962, she was crowned and anointed empress at Rome. According to the *ordo*, the three main characteristics which a queen or empress should display were “the overcoming of inconstancy” (a female weakness), “motherhood” and “political power.”¹³ The combination of motherhood with political power gave a new emphasis to those two roles, for once in harmony when often they had been seen as alternatives. The queen’s household role expanded to encompass those new responsibilities. After her coronation as empress, Adelheid’s interventions on behalf of members of her household in the diplomata of her husband, Emperor Otto I, became significantly more frequent. These formal requests to the ruler for favors are recorded in the charters and are known by the term “interventions.” Their frequency is a measure of the queen’s importance. Adelheid intervened in 70 out of 199 issued by Otto during that period from 962 until his death in 973.¹⁴ On the one hand, the number of her interventions is a measure of the authority and power that she held within the empire. On the other hand, the households of the Ottonian royal and imperial women operated with a fluidity which reflected the flexibility and mutability of rules under which they and their men functioned. That meant that the operations of the household were in flux and the activities and the composition of their members varied according to circumstances. The volatility within a regime could be advantageous to women (and to ambitious men), who could take advantage of fewer rules and a variety of models. In those earlier times the evidence for a distinct separate household is vague. There is less certainty that the queen always operated with a strictly separated household from the king’s, as was more well-known in the later Middle Ages and the Early Modern period when household accounts record in detail the expenditure and general ordering of

13 Amalie Fössel, “The Political Traditions of Female Rulership in Medieval Europe,” in eds Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 68–83, esp. pp. 71–72.

14 My count, from Otto I, *Diplomata: Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I., und Otto I.*, ed. T. Sickel, MGH Dip. regum I (Hanover, 1879–84), nrs. 138–433. It is impossible to obtain the exact number and meaning of the interventions since *petitio*, *votum*, *rogatus*, and *interventus* are some of the numerous terms used, at times with *petitio* distinguished from *interventus*: Karl J. Leyser, “*Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta*: Western and Eastern Emperors in the Later Tenth Century,” in ed. Adelbert Davids, *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1–27, esp. p. 21, n. 88. See also Sean Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 116–24.

the queen's household.¹⁵ The women adapted, like men, to the flexibility of the times, and worked within its restrictions and freedoms.¹⁶

Any approval by the queen-empress accorded the members of her household a special status. No households were more prestigious than those of Adelheid and Theophanu. Gerbert (monk of Aurillac, abbot of Nonantola, and ultimately Pope Sylvester II) wrote that the household of an admirable woman, that is Adelheid, would not consider a person illustrious unless he were faithful and trustworthy. In accepting her confessor, Ecceman, into her household, Adelheid publicized her endorsement of him as loyal to herself and others and broadcast his general trustworthiness.¹⁷ Abbot Odilo of Cluny, in his *Epitaphium* of Adelheid, modelled his report about Adelheid's last days on the work of Defensor of Ligugé, a monk from St Martin of Ligugé, who, in the seventh century, compiled a set of moral precepts which was extensively copied and consequently widely available in the tenth century.¹⁸ Adelheid's mother-in-law, Queen Mathilda, "shone brightly [...] with admirable integrity."¹⁹ Odilo of Cluny praised Adelheid for her grave pleasantness to those within her household and her most distinguished dignity to those outside her household, using *domesticus* for household, *extraneus* for outside the household, and *honestas* in the superlative; *honestissima*, meaning "most distinguished, honorable or worthy."²⁰ In so doing, Odilo endorsed the *honestas* of Adelheid, so important a characteristic of the queen, as specified by the earlier chroniclers.

Adelheid's daughter, Abbess Mathilda, an active member of the royal family, managed her household of canonesses at her monastery at Quedlinburg and

- 15 For example, see in the Spanish court Magdalena S. Sánchez, "Melancholy and Female Illness: Habsburg Women and Politics at the Court of Philip III," *Journal of Women's History* 8:2 (1996): 81-102, esp. pp. 84, 91.
- 16 For the English court, see Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, pp. 104-106.
- 17 Gerbert, *Epistolae* (*Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims*), ed. Fritz Weigle, MGH Briefe 2 (Berlin, 1966), Letter 21, Reims, January-February 984, p. 44.
- 18 Defensor of Ligugé, *Liber Scintillarum*, Corpus Christianorum [CC], Series latina 117/1, ed. H.M. Rochais (Turnhout, 1957), as cited and discussed in Sean Gilsdorf, ed. and trans., *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington, 2004), p. 194, n. 100.
- 19 "[r]esplenduit [...] honestas admirabilis," *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior* (*Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*), ed. Bernd Schütte, MGH SSRG 66:143-202 (1994), ch. 16, p. 178.
- 20 "Erat enim ei domesticis gravis iocunditas, cum extraneis honestissima gravitas," Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium domine Adalheide auguste* (*Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny*), ed. H. Paulhart (Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier der Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen, vol. 2, M10G, Ergänzungsband 20/2) (Graz and Cologne, 1962), ch. 21, p. 44.

took an energetic role in government. Twice she performed as regent north of the Alps in the absence of the imperial family: first in 966 when her parents, Otto I and Adelheid, were travelling in Italy and second in 997 on behalf of her nephew, Otto III, when he journeyed there too. In that later period she organized the return of Liudgard, a nun from her convent, who had been abducted by some of the leading men of the kingdom. In reporting that incident, Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg notes the abbess's consultation with the leading men and with various members of her household. With her mother, Adelheid, and her sister-in-law, Theophanu, Abbess Mathilda presided over the great councils of the realm. At other times, she was to be found sitting among and conversing with the bishops and archbishops of the church.²¹

Adelheid's special role in the household is illustrated by an incident involving Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg recorded in 971, towards the end of the life of her husband, Emperor Otto I. In his *Vita S. Oudalrici*, Gerhard of Augsburg reports that Bishop Ulrich unexpectedly visited Ravenna and was received by Otto I and members of the court. Otto took him to his private chamber (*in cubiculo*), a particular indication of friendship and favor, and called in Adelheid to participate in the deliberations. The emperor, empress, and bishop discussed the progress of many matters. Gerhard was at pains to list Adelheid's active role in supporting Ulrich's request to nominate his successor as bishop at Augsburg, and to record the intimacy with which Ulrich was treated by the imperial couple in their private apartments. The intercession of the empress was as significant as the granting of the request and her importance is notable in the delighted enthusiasm of Ulrich's hagiographer, Gerhard.²² The report shows the importance of the physical spaces of the household. That Ulrich was taken to the private chamber of the imperial household means that the imperial family accepted him as part of the inner household. Fifty years later, the first king and emperor of the new Salian dynasty, Conrad II, retained a clear distinction between kingship and the king (and therefore his queen), that is, between the buildings to which the kingdom belonged and the private quarters that the king and queen might occupy, separate from the public court.²³

21 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. Werner Trillmich, 8th ed. (Darmstadt, 2002), 4.41-42; *Annales Hildesheimenses*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SSRG 8 (1878), s.a. 987; *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, ed. Martina Giese, MGH SSRG [72] (2004), s.a. 999, pp. 501-2; and John William Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936-1075* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 143.

22 Gerhard of Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Oudalrici episcopi Augustini*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS 4:377-428 (1841), ch. 20, p. 407.

23 Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II, imperatoris*, 11:507-613, ed. Werner Trillmich, et al., 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1968), ch. 7, p. 560; and Nelson, "Rulers," p. 102.

The distinction between the public and private spaces in the palace was emerging in place of the more personal and intimate relations with which government had operated two generations before.

Adelheid's capability as facilitator of the hierarchy is demonstrated by the number of interventions she made on behalf of members of the court and other members of the household. Adelheid intervened in 87 out of 213 of Otto I's charters from the time of their wedding on 9 October 951 until Otto I's death on 7 May 973.²⁴ She was not the only petitioner in Otto I's charters. Others intervened too, sometimes with her. The joint interventions illustrate the wide variety of exchanges with her inner and outer connections. Those who intervened with her on behalf of petitioners included close family, especially those related by marriage, such as her brother-in-law, Archbishop Brun, and her nephew, Duke Henry of Bavaria (d. 995).²⁵ Other joint intervenors were members of the chancery, such as Adelheid's stepson, Archchancellor William of Mainz, and clerical intercessors such as Bishop Dietrich I of Metz.²⁶ Benefactors of the emperor's bounty, such as Adelheid's niece, Abbess Gerberga of Gandersheim (d. 1002), and Gubertus, a senior monk at the monastery at Bobbio, were aided by her mediations on their behalf.²⁷ The flexibility of the members of the household is demonstrated by the fact that on the unexpected death in Italy in 983 of Otto II, the son of Adelheid and Otto I, the then Archchancellor, Willigis of Mainz, contacted the two empresses, Adelheid and Theophanu, to tell them when they could return safely to Germany from Italy. Willigis, a prominent churchman and member of the chanceries of Otto I and Otto II, joined the political household of Adelheid and her grandson, Otto III.

24 My count; see note 14 above. For the likely date of the wedding of Adelheid and Otto I, see Penelope Nash, "Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda Compared," PhD dissertation, University of Sydney, 2014), pp. 74-75; Amalie Föbel, in eds B. Schneidmüller, et al., *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich. Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 123-38; Rudolf Schetter, "Die Intervenienz der weltlichen und geistlichen Fürsten in den deutschen Königsurkunden von 911-1056," PhD dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1935, pp. 6-14; and Krista Codea, "Intervenienten und Petenten vornehmlich für lothringische Empfänger in den Diplomen der liudolfingischen Herrscher (919-1024): Eine prosopographische Darstellung" PhD dissertation, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 2008.

25 Otto I, *Diplomata*, nrs. 196; 389.

26 Otto I, *Diplomata*, nrs. 226; 409.

27 Otto I, *Diplomata*, nrs. 422; 412. Abbess Gerberga of Gandersheim should not be confused with Adelheid's sister-in-law by marriage, Gerberga, queen of the West Franks, whose household is examined by Megan Welton in Chapter 1 in this book.

Distinguishing other members of Adelheid's household is not easy. Before Adelheid married Otto I, she had been married to Lothar of Italy. After Lothar's death in 950 she was imprisoned by King Berengar II, who was seeking to consolidate his claim to the kingdom. Although he took away her attendants, leaving her only an unnamed maidservant, Adelheid escaped with the help of that maidservant and a priest.²⁸ We have some understanding of the entourage which followed her in her travels at a later period. There remains a letter from her to "G", possibly a Würzburg clerk, dated to 994 or 995 at the end of her time as regent for her grandson Otto III or soon after her cessation in that role. Since she would not find "her great friend the bishop" at home, Adelheid asked for resources for a stay for herself and her travelling household. "Our [that is, her] people" (*nostri*) had advised her, she sent "her messenger," and she requested stipends "for our [that is, her] companions."²⁹ That letter not only indicates some of the people who made up Adelheid's travelling household, but also something of the complicated and expensive mechanisms by which it operated.³⁰ We know more about her servants and her messengers from Abbot Odilo of Cluny, who reports in his *Epitaphium* about the empress, using ideas from the Old Testament, that she shall not fear for her house since she has ensured that in the "frigid snows" that all her servants (*domestici*) are "doubly clothed".³¹ Odilo notes that she sent (by implication conveyed by someone highly trusted from her household) a large amount of silver and the *chlamys* (a short military cloak) of her son, Otto II, to the monastery of St Martin of Tours, to be placed on the altar there.³² In addition, Odilo distinguishes between Adelheid's attitudes to those of her household and to those outside it. The empress saw to the welfare of the servants in her household by ensuring that they received incomes, that they had adequate clothing and that she had otherwise addressed their needs.³³ In this way she practiced the *honestas* expected of a queen.

28 Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, *Hrotsvithae Opera*, ed. Paul von Winterfeld, MGH SSRG 34 (Munich, 1978), lines 500-502, 505 and 533-34, pp. 218-19.

29 Froumond, *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, ed. Karl Strecker, MGH Epp. sel. 3:1-96 (Berlin, 1925), letter 16, p. 16; and Karl J. Leyser, "Ottonian Government," *English Historical Review* 96:381 (1981): 721-53, at p. 747.

30 I am grateful (again) to Alison Creber for suggesting that I make more of this letter.

31 Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium*, ch. 4, pp. 32-33, trans. Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity*, p. 132.

32 Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium*, ch. 17, p. 41. Adelheid clearly selected the item, a military cloak, to acknowledge the fourth-century saint who gave away half his cloak to clothe a near-naked beggar.

33 Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium*, ch. 21, p. 44.

As manager of the household, the queen retained responsibility for a valuable quantity of treasure, consisting of jewels, gold, silver, ornaments and even luxury textiles.³⁴ In the transfer of treasure, the elite household used the senior servants of the household or, if they were unavailable, trusted family members to convey precious goods. Adelheid's brother-in-law, Duke Charles of Lower Lotharingia, imprisoned Emma, queen of the West Franks, Adelheid's daughter from her first marriage to King Lothar of Italy. Emma provided money from her treasury, probably to pay her ransom.³⁵ Since the bailiff "of her possessions" had not returned, Emma asked an unnamed priest, probably Bruno, her nephew by marriage, to convey what must have been property of some value. Bishop Bruno was the son of a half-sister of her deceased husband, Lothair, King of the West Franks.³⁶ Emma's request shows the family networks to which she had access and their numerous members to whom she could appeal. Many of these were related closely by blood, others by a common, albeit distant, ancestor, and others connected as family by marriage.³⁷ Those activities and requests show the high control of her treasury by the dowager queen, Emma, and her ability to employ a member of her extended household to facilitate its transfer, despite her being in captivity. Adelheid's daughter-in-law, the young Theophanu, brought great wealth to her new marriage. Contemporaries reported that she arrived in Italy in 972 to become the bride of Otto II "with countless amounts of treasure," "with a great army and illustrious gifts," and accompanied "by a splendid escort and magnificent gifts."³⁸ Otto II in turn gave his new bride great estates, courts and abbeys in Germany

34 Edouard Perroy, "Carolingian Administration," in ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp, *Early Medieval Society* (New York, 1967), pp. 129-46, esp. pp. 139-40.

35 Emma's mother-in-law was Gerberga, queen of the West Franks, sister of Adelheid's second husband, Otto I, and the subject of further examination in this volume by Megan Welton in Chapter 1.

36 Gerbert, *Epistolae*, Letter 147, pp. 173-74, trans. Harriet Pratt Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert, with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II*, letter 155 (New York, 1961), p. 183.

37 See the chapter on "Kith and Kin" in Penelope Nash, *Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda: Medieval Female Rulership and the Foundations of European Society* (Basingstoke, 2017).

38 "cum innumeris thesaurorum divitiis," *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior*, ed. B. Schütte, MGH SSRG 66:107-42, ch. 15, p. 141, trans. Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity*, pp. 71-87, esp. p. 87; "cum magno exercitu et claris muneribus [...]," Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae*, eds A. Bauer, et al., 5th ed. (Darmstadt, 2002), 3.73, pp. 176-78; and "magnificis muneribus comitatuque egregeio [...]," Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, 2.15, p. 60. See also H. Westermann-Angerhausen, "Did Theophano Leave her Mark on the Ottonian Sumptuary Arts?," in ed. Davids, *The Empress Theophano*, pp. 244-64, esp. pp. 245-46.

and Italy, and further gifts of landed property during their marriage.³⁹ Later, as empress, Theophanu brought treasure from Rossano to aid her husband Otto II's rescue after his disastrous defeat at Crotona by the Saracens in July 982. It is not clear whether that treasure belonged to the empress or was under her care, but there was no doubt that she was responsible for its management and security, at least at that time, and it was her role to convey it safely to the emperor.

The frequent mention of the queen's treasure shows its value and consequently its importance to individual royal members, who at times sought to extract it from her control. On the death in 936 of her husband, King Henry I, Queen Mathilda, Adelheid's mother-in-law, had her queen's wealth taken by her sons.⁴⁰ When King Berengar II imprisoned Adelheid in 951, he took gold, jewels, treasures and the king's crown.⁴¹ Such depredations of the queen's property were not restricted to the continent. In 1043 King Edward (the Confessor) deprived his mother, Queen Emma of England, of much land, gold, silver, and other treasures, and left her with what he considered to be appropriate. Later, her stepson Harold confiscated the royal treasure left to her by Cnut.⁴² Disputes about the queen's treasure often arose over the dotal lands (in this case, the reverse dowry where the husband gave property to the wife on their marriage), especially in Germany where the property was considered returnable to the crown on the death of the queen or empress and was often reallocated to royal daughters or daughters-in-law. For example, Nordhausen, Theophanu's gift from Otto II at their wedding, had been the dotal lands of her grandmother-in-law, Queen Mathilda.⁴³

The locations to which the court travelled enabled the members of the royal household to appear before the regional counts and lords and before the local people throughout the empire. Members of the Ottonian household travelled frequently; a method originating in the Carolingian model where the peripatetic court administered justice and oversaw their lands by

39 Otto II, *Diplomata: Die Urkunden Otto des II*, ed. Theodor Sickel, MGH Dip. regum 2.1 (Hanover, 1888), nrs. 21, 76, 171, 202. See also Amalie Föbel, "The Queen's Wealth in the Middle Ages," *Majesta* (2005): 23-45, esp. p. 28.

40 *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior*, 5-6, pp. 122-25; *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior*, 11-12, pp. 167-70. For translations of the two *Vita Mathildis*, see ed. and trans. Gilsdorf, *Queen-ship and Sanctity*, pp. 77-79 and 89-127, esp. pp. 103-106.

41 Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, *Hrotsvithae Opera*, lines 497-505, p. 218.

42 Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, p. 115.

43 Mechthild Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes (1043-1077): Quellenkritische Studien 7* (Cologne, 1995), pp. 160-61.

direct management.⁴⁴ Certain locations were significant. Pavia, as the ancient Lombard capital, was an important symbolic location. Otto I and Adelheid chose to celebrate their wedding there. Other centers of power where the royal household gathered for great church feasts and royal and imperial meetings included Aachen, Quedlinburg, Magdeburg, Mainz and Merseburg.⁴⁵ Adelheid herself possessed property in northern Italy, and in Alsace, Thuringia, Saxony, and Slavonia. From her mother, her father-in-law, and her two husbands, she inherited 21 royal estates, four abbeys, and 6,640 manse spread throughout those locations.⁴⁶ Her travels with her husband, her son, her grandson and by herself enabled her and the members of her household to resolve disputes about those landed possessions and to dispense justice locally.

Adelheid visited those properties, intervened in the charters, and resolved disputes. Documentation of only some of those activities remains, and her actions are often obscured by the formal recordings of the court, which attribute all decisions to the king-emperor. That still occurred when she actively managed the three regencies: in Otto II's first year of his marriage to Theophanu in 972-973, during her early regency for Otto III between 984 and 987, and during her later regency for him from 991 until he reached his age of majority, probably in 994. We can only catch glimpses of the people belonging to Adelheid's household and its workings.

As the eleventh century progressed, concomitant with the rise of nobles and the development of more circumscribed governmental structures, the power

44 Leyser, "Ottonian Government," pp. 721-53; Chris Wickham, *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400-1200* (London, 1994), pp. 275-93, esp. p. 275.

45 For Adelheid's and Theophanu's itinerary during Theophanu's life as queen and empress, see Gunther Wolf, "Das Itinerar der Prinzessin Theophanu/Kaiserin Theophanu 972-991," in ed. Gunther Wolf, *Kaiserin Theophanu: Prinzessin aus der Fremde-des Westreichs Grosse Kaiserin* (Cologne, 1991), pp. 5-18. For Adelheid's itinerary after she had married Otto I in 951, see Nash, "Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda Compared," pp. 92, 94-95, and Appendix D, maps B, C, D, pp. 398-400. For a discussion about the celebration of feasts at Quedlinburg and Magdeburg, see Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, pp. 201, 141.

46 Penelope Nash, "Shifting Terrain – Italy and Germany Dancing in Their Own Tapestry," *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 6 (2010): 53-73, esp. pp. 62-67; Stefan Weinfurter, "Kaiserin Adelheid und das ottonische Kaisertum," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 33 (1999), 1-19, esp. p. 13; Mathilde Uhlirz, "Die rechtliche Stellung der Kaiserinwitwe Adelheid im deutschen und im italischen Reich," *Zeitschrift des Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 74 (1957): 85-97, esp. p. 92; and Gerald Beyreuther, "Kaiserin Adelheid: 'Mutter der Königreiche'," in eds Erika Uitz, et al., *Herrscherinnen und Nonnen: Frauengestalten von der Ottonenzeit bis zu den Staufern* (Berlin, 1990), pp. 43-79, esp. p. 53.

of the king-emperor was called into question and consequently so was that of his queen-empress, especially in Italy and Germany.⁴⁷ Although the king-emperor still maintained a court and his household, he and his retinue became less central to power as other structures formed or re-formed. The church “was drawing a line around itself” and distinguishing itself more sharply from the laity.⁴⁸ The rise of the power of the counts weakened that of the emperor-king. As the machinery of government became more impersonal, aristocratic men were able to exercise public power as administrators of and participants in the new institutions. Those opportunities were not open in general to noble women, who were relegated to private power in a shrinking sphere as the household became increasingly marginalized while other power structures gained prominence. Altogether, everywhere the growth of a more organized society consigned family, household and women to the periphery.⁴⁹

To test the practical effects of these changes, it would be appropriate to examine briefly Empress Agnes (c. 1025-1077), who was active in Germany about 60 years after Empress Adelheid. To a great extent, Agnes attempted to take the same path that Adelheid so successfully followed. She ruled as empress with her husband, Emperor Henry III, and on his death in 1056 became regent for her infant son, the future Emperor Henry IV. Her influence on the household arose initially from the size of the retinue and the opulence of the gifts she brought with her from France. As queen-empress in the Germanic lands she was more restricted than Adelheid in her ability to control the regency and her possessions. Eventually she was forced to relinquish her son, who was brought up by the magnates of the kingdom. She entered a monastery, leaving

47 German rulers and their wives were given royal titles at their coronations in Germany, and only received imperial titles if/when they were crowned by the pope in Rome.

48 Lynette Olson, *The Early Middle Ages: The Birth of Europe* (Houndmills, 2007), pp. 197, 199.

49 Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, “The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500-1100,” in eds Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, (Athens, GA, 1988), pp. 83-101. McNamara re-examined and reaffirmed her views in “Women and Power through the Family Revisited,” in eds Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2003), pp. 17-30; Elizabeth Haluska-Rausch, “Transformations in the Powers of Wives and Widows near Montpellier, 985-1213,” in eds Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, and Adam Kosto, *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe: 950-1350* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 153-168; and Kathryn L. Reyerson and Thomas Kuehn, “Women and Law in France and Italy,” in ed. Linda E. Mitchell, *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (New York, 1999), pp. 131-41. For a less optimistic view, see Janet L. Nelson and Alice Rio, “Women and Laws in Early Medieval Europe,” in eds Bennett and Karras, *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, pp. 103-17, esp. pp. 103-4 and 113-14.

the government to others.⁵⁰ The empress had lost power in the court. For this reason it is more valuable to examine a ruling woman operating within the new power structures in Germany and Italy. Hence the second case study focuses on Countess Beatrice of Tuscany and Countess Matilda of Tuscany, vassals of the German emperors and active in Northern Italy: the former in the mid-eleventh century and the latter in the late eleventh to the early twelfth centuries.

Beatrice owed allegiance to the German emperors Henry III and Henry IV and Matilda to Henry IV and Henry V. The two women exercised personal power by their northern Italian *comitatus* ("comital right"). They participated in the shift from the comital powers associated with the king and "his fiscal, military, and judicial policy and duties," which had developed in the Frankish era, to local authority.⁵¹ The responsibilities for the households of Beatrice and Matilda, who were titled *dux*, *ducatrrix*, *comitissa* and *marchionissa*, differed from those of Empress Adelheid.⁵² Their charters were witnessed by counts, judges and notaries, signed by Beatrice and Matilda and authorized with their seals, at least for some documents.⁵³ Their use of seals, especially

50 Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, esp. pp. 346-380; I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 26-62; Fössel, *Die Königin*, pp. 332-38; Claudia Zey, "Frauen und Töchter der salischen Herrscher: Zum Wandel salischer Heiratspolitik in der Krise," in ed. Tilman Struve, *Die Salier, das Reich und der Niederrhein* (Cologne, 2008), pp. 47-98, esp. pp. 60-63. See also Henry IV, *Diplomata. Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, ed. D. von Gladiss, et al., MGH *Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae, Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser 6/1-3* (Weimar, 1941, 1959, 1978); and Johann Friedrich Böhrer et al., *Regesta Imperii 3.2 (Sälisches Haus 1024-1125): Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Heinrich IV (1056 (1050)-1106) part 1* (Cologne, 1984).

51 Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 112; Paolo Golinelli, *Matilde e i Canossa*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 2004).

52 See for example, Elke Goetz, Regesten der Markgräfin Beatrix, in *Beatrix von Canossa und Tuszien: Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts* [Reg. Bea] (Sigmaringen, 1995), pp. 192-235 esp. no. 23, p. 214; and Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata: Die Urkunden und Briefe der Markgräfin Mathilde von Tuszien*, eds Elke and Werner Goetz, MGH *Laienfürsten- und Dynastienurkunden der Kaiserzeit 2* (1998), no. 2, p. 36; no. 32, p. 115. For discussion of the use of these terms by and about Matilda, see Rosalind Jaeger Reynolds, "Nobilissima Dux: Matilda of Tuscany and the Construction of Female Authority," PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2005, pp. 209, 212-19, 224-28.

53 See examples of signatures in Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, at illustrations. 9, 10, 11, 14, 15 betw. pp. 4 and 5. For a seal reputed to be Matilda's, see British Library (London), Matilda's Seal: Uxor Gotfridi Mathildi(s), 1069-1074, Seal XXXV, 295. Note that the seal impressions in Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, at illustrations 16, 17 and 17a, between pp. 4 and 5, are from seals that differ from the one located at the British Library.

for comital women, was unusual at this relatively early period of the use of seals by women.⁵⁴ As queen and empress Adelheid intervened in her husband's charters. Beatrice and Matilda issued charters in their own names.⁵⁵ Beatrice and Matilda's charters were modelled on the format and structure of those of royal diplomata, and included concomitant penalties.

It has been argued that Matilda had no chancery. However, to put her decisions into effect she needed an effective administrative arm, that is, a judicial household. Matilda followed a similar procedure to that of Otto I, who operated with a small chancery comprised of a clerical elite that administered to the royal need to document the commands and decisions of his empire.⁵⁶ Those processes did not change much when the Ottonian women took the central role in running the kingdom after the unexpected death of Otto II in 983 and the ascent of the underage Otto III to the throne. The charters, which continued to follow the formulaic outline of *arenga*, body, and conclusions, upheld traditional public power. Likewise, Matilda supported a chancery of sorts, although its members, probably even less concerned with the concept of a physical center of government than the royal court north of the Alps in the previous century, changed more frequently in response to the needs of the people living at or near the locations from where she issued her judgments. Although many who witnessed her charters appeared frequently, none was indispensable as she moved around her areas of influence. Her chancery continued to operate using Carolingian processes in imitation of the empire, whose influences markedly affected her way of ruling.⁵⁷ She held great courts, which issued *placita* and charters to resolve disputes, to redistribute goods and

54 Nash, "Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda Compared," pp. 110, 152, 156, 158-59; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals, and Power in Medieval France, 1150-1350," in *Form and Order in Medieval France: Studies in Social and Quantitative Sigillography* (Aldershot, 1993), IX: pp. 61-82, esp. p. 63.

55 Beatrice's extant charters number 54: Goetz, *Reg. Bea.*, pp. 192-235. Matilda's extant genuine charters number 139: Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, p. 1. Some of those charters were issued with others. For example, Beatrice and Matilda issued some together and each issued some with their husbands. However, Matilda issued most of her charters alone.

56 Leyser, "Ottonian Government," pp. 725-32. In support of a much stronger administrative base and for the existence of detailed contemporary supporting documentation about Otto I's landholdings, now no longer available to us, see David Bachrach, "Exercise of Royal Power in Early Medieval Europe: The Case of Otto the Great 936-73," *Early Medieval Europe* 17:4 (2009): 389-419.

57 For the persistence of public institutions in Tuscany in the eleventh century, see Chris Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World: The Emergence of Italian City Communes in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 2015), pp. 18 and 121-23; and idem, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2010), pp. 451-52.

to reprimand miscreants in the tradition of great lordship and in imitation of kings.⁵⁸ Consequently, in the administration of her respective realms, Matilda carried on a tradition not much changed from the Ottonian royal and imperial procedures.

Matilda used more people and her signatories varied more than those in the charters of Otto I when he ruled with Adelheid. Matilda's household comprised her advisors, administrators, and her military coterie. Towards the end of her life, after her defeat of Emperor Henry IV, we see Matilda acting with independent authority, even though she remained the vassal of his son Henry V, king from 1106 and emperor from 1111. Certain names recur in Matilda's charters but others are local people and appear only once or a few times near the location of issue of the charter. The format of the diplomata was carefully preserved to strengthen the authenticity and authority of the recorded decisions. The diplomata are a particularly important record in Germany and Italy in the absence of wills with their records of gift giving. In contrast, the will of the ætheling Æthelstan (d. 1014) contains a wealth of detail about Æthelstan's entourage and is examined in detail in David McDermott's paper in this volume.

Matilda's participants and witnesses differed from those of the Ottonian household. Although Matilda used bishops as witnesses to some charters, they do not have the prominence or appear as frequently as in Otto I and Adelheid's charters. Although Hugh, bishop of Mantua, takes his place as the head of the list of witnesses in charter number 115, Count Arduinus de Palude comes second. He is followed by 21 others, none of whom is a cleric. They must be considered as lower in status because of their positioning in the list.⁵⁹ Despite Hugh's presence and signature on the charter in 1109, by and large bishops have been replaced by counts in Matilda's charters by that time. The titles and positions of the participants have changed but the processes remained similar.

A sample of Matilda's charters shows how she used her administrative household. In 1109, four years before she died, a charter of Matilda's was signed by several counts, judges, judges of the sacred palace, and Ingelbert, who was

58 For support for the idea of a chancery operated by the Canossans modelled on the empire, see Chris Wickham, *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), pp. xxx-xxxi; Roberto Ferrara, "Gli anni di Matilde (1072-1115). Osservazioni sulla 'cancelleria' canossiana," in ed. Paolo Golinelli, *I poteri dei Canossa, da Reggio Emilia all'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale di studi* (Bologna, 1994), pp. 89-98; and Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, 2009), p. 122. *Contra* see Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, pp. 18, 21.

59 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 115 (San Cesario sul Panaro, 9 June 1109), p. 306.

both a notary and a judge of the sacred palace and who, on the final line, states that he wrote the report. In that charter Matilda made use of a scribe at a count's law-court as a supporting signatory, the only time she did so in her (genuine) charters.⁶⁰ Matilda used a *iudex* in a great many of her charters as a signatory. In a broad sense, the *iudices* and other signatories can be considered to be part of her household, some members of which she authorized to investigate cases on her behalf. Sometimes they were titled *iudex domini regis*. Such a title indicates that they may have had specialized legal training and contributed a consultative function.⁶¹ The first two charters, which Matilda issued with her mother, were signed by a judge of the sacred palace (*iudex sacri palatii*).⁶² Even though those officials were connected with the king or the emperor, they could be counted among her outer household because they managed the courts and the lands. At other times her signatories included a notary rather than a *iudex*.⁶³ Matilda's final extant charter shows few signatories. Seven sign with their own hand, without explicit title, but are named from their family or location, such as "de Palude," "de Gonzaga," and "de castro Airani." There are good reasons to believe they were all counts or of high status, since three of the signatories are named as counts in the previous extant document. The last signatory to the final charter was Rodulfus, the court notary, who may have executed the public actions that authenticated the charter, such as lifting the parchment from the ground.⁶⁴ Matilda did not sign that last document. She died ten weeks later.

Matilda's use of two counts (*comes*) further illustrates her extensive household members. First, Arduinus de Palude (1073-1122), count and *capitaneus* ("prominent citizen and military commander"), appears as first or second witness in thirteen of Matilda's later diplomata, though in neither of the extant two that she issued from the battlefield.⁶⁵ According to Donizo, Matilda's biographer, Arduinus was "a most eloquent man and noble [...] and a faithful man

60 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 118, pp. 312-13; J.F. Niermeyer et al., *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.v. "cancellarius."

61 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 25, p. 97; no. 75, p. 221, and no. A6, pp. 479-81; no. A7, pp. 482-84; no. A10, pp. 491-92. See also Ronald G. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (New York, 2012), pp. 65-66.

62 See, for example, Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata* (Calceraki, 7 June 1072), no. 2 p. 38.

63 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata* (Carpineti, 5 October 1092), no. 44, p. 143.

64 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata* (in curte Bondeno, 8 May 1115), no. 139, p. 360; Carlo Calisse, *History of Italian Law*, trans. L.B. Register (Boston, 1928), pp. 704-9.

65 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, nrs. 64, 74, 85, 112, 113, 115, 118, 125-6, 132, 135, 138-9. See also Gianluca Bottazzi, "Viabilità medievale nella collina e montagna parmense tra i torrenti Parma ed Enza," in ed. Pierpaolo Bonacini, *Studi matildici IV* (Modena, 1997), pp. 153-206,

and *missus* (“ambassador” or “messenger”) of the lady Matilda [...]”⁶⁶ He was one of the *fideles* who kept track of patrimonial possessions.⁶⁷ Arduinus could be said to belong to her military as well as to her personal household. The second, Paganus de Corsena, features far more often in Matilda’s charters than any other witness or signatory, a total of 19 times. He witnessed or appeared in the body of genuine documents seven times while Beatrice was alive, five times within a document, and twice as signatory.⁶⁸ In the final document, his son Roland is introduced.⁶⁹ After Beatrice’s death in 1076, Matilda included Paganus in her next (extant) document. In that diploma, his name appears ahead of all others in the body of the document, some of them counts and judges.⁷⁰ From this time until 1083, Paganus acted as either a signatory to Matilda’s diplomata or was listed in the body a further seven times.⁷¹ On 1 June 1077, the first (extant) diploma was issued after the Canossan events of January 1077, and includes the names of Paganus and Roland.⁷² On 3 April 1100, Roland’s name appears in the body of a charter for the first time without his father, and then in the next extant charter, issued only seven days later.⁷³ Matilda continued to employ the services of the family of her loyal follower. She issued a later diploma in 1105 that refers to Hildebrand, another son of

esp. p. 206; and David John Hay, *The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa 1046-1115* (Manchester, 2008), p. 35.

66 “vir facundissimus atque / Nobilis [...] / Atque fidelis vir missus dominaeque Mathilidis.” Donizo, *Vita Mathildis* (*Vita di Matilde di Canossa*), ed. P. Golinelli, et al. (Milan, 2008), 2, lines 1228-30. See also Lino Lionello Ghirardini, *Storia critica di Matilde di Canossa: problemi (e misteri) della più grande Donna della storia d’Italia* (Modena, 1989), pp. 309-33.

67 Bisson, *Crisis*, p. 124.

68 Paganus is named in the following documents: Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 1 (Mantua, 19 January 1072), p. 35; no. 2 (Calceraki, 7 June 1072), p. 37; no. 3 (Colle de Vignolis, 7 July 1072), p. 40; no. 4 (Colle de Vignali, 9 July 1072), p. 43; and no. 14 (Firenze, 7 May 1075), p. 69. Paganus is signatory to no. 10 (Campitello, 10 September 1073), p. 61 and no. 11 (Torricella, 10 September 1073), p. 63.

69 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, “cum [...] Pagano de Corsina et Rollando filio suo” (Firenze, 7 May 1075), no. 14, p. 69.

70 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata* (Marengo, 27 May 1076), no. 19, p. 80.

71 Paganus is named with his son Roland in Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata* (Firenze, 6 June 1077), no. 20, p. 82. Paganus is named in no. 24 (Poggibonsi, 11 February 1078), p. 94; no. 25 (Puntiglio, 19 February 1078), p. 95; no. 30 (Tarquinia, 26 March 1080), p. 110; no. 31 (Ferrara [?], 20 September 1080), p. 113; and no. 32 (Ferrara, 23 November 1080), p. 115. Paganus was a signatory in no. 36 (Mantua, 10 May 1083), p. 128.

72 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata* (Firenze, 6 June 1077), no. 20, p. 82.

73 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata* (Poggibonsi, 3 April 1100), no. 58, p. 182; and (Sursiano, 10 April 1100), no. 59, p. 183.

Paganus. Hildebrand had died leaving a number of possessions to the monastery of St Peter at Pozeuli (Badia Pozzeveri), approximately 11 kilometers south-east of Lucca. Matilda took care to confirm in the court, through her right of ban, all property in 16 locations that Hildebrand, identified within the document as a son of Paganus, had donated to the monastery.⁷⁴ From the record of Hildebrand's wealth and the earlier prominence of his father in Matilda's charters, it is reasonable to assume that Hildebrand, his brother Roland and their father Paganus were a family from the wealthier echelons of society in comital service to Matilda and certainly responsible for the good order of her properties as well as having interests of their own.

Can we consider people who appear only once or twice in Matilda's diplomata as part of her household? They seem to be local people, brought in as witnesses to an event of interest to them, or else were easily available in the location in which Matilda was operating. In a charter of 1106 issued in mid-winter at Quistello, near the river Po, there are witnesses who appear in no other diplomata. Dibertus of Revere, who was involved in the offence that Matilda was rectifying, appears only in that diploma and was apparently a local man, since Revere today is about 12 kilometers north east as the crow flies from Quistello.⁷⁵ Iohannes *riparius*, a collector of mooring-dues, followed a most apt occupation since Quistello, where the diploma was issued, is still sited near the river Po.⁷⁶ As Iohannes appears in no other diploma issued by Matilda, he is obviously a local man. Hugo, a *massarius* ("serf" or "land-tenant" whose holding forms part of a 'massa,' that is, an estate), as well as witnessing number 93 also witnessed the next extant diploma, which was issued from Guastalla two months later.⁷⁷ Paulus *canevarius* ("butler, head of the household, one in charge of the wine, cup-bearer")⁷⁸ appears only twice, in diploma number 93 and in a charter of doubtful authenticity dated 25 July 1110, issued purportedly at Pegognaga.⁷⁹ The companions of Paulus in this questionable charter include Roland *massarius* and Daibertus of Revere (possibly the same Dibertus as in number 93). See also *Martinus medicus*, who witnessed only one

74 "Ildebrandi, filii quondam Pagani de Corsena," Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata* (Pieve Fosciana, 10 July 1105), no. 87, p. 248; s.v. "Ildebrandus," p. 534; and s.v. "Pozeuli," p. 578.

75 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 93, p. 260 and s.v. "Dibertus," p. 527.

76 Niermeyer et al., *Lexicon*, s.v. "riparius." Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 93, p. 260. Today Quistello is just over six kilometers from the Po as the crow flies.

77 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 93, p. 260; no. 94, p. 263 and s.v. "Ugo," p. 550; Niermeyer et al., *Lexicon*, s.v. "massarius," "massa."

78 Niermeyer et al., *Lexicon*, s.v. "canavarius."

79 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. †148, p. 378. († suggests a diploma of doubtful authenticity.)

document towards the end of Matilda's life. Was he closely connected to the household of the countess as her physician or was he a handy witness from the local community?⁸⁰ Those listed with their offices could be counted as part of Matilda's extended household, at least for certain charters and for a limited time. They were part of the outer household, called on when needed in a locality, and then allowed to return to their usual duties. The names and their roles in the charters show the changes from the royal household of the tenth century to that of the countess of the early twelfth century. Many more local men appear as witnesses but no women, except, of course, for the initiator of the charters, the countess herself.

As well as a coterie of followers to witness her decisions and to manage her properties, Matilda gathered around her a political salon of intellectuals and scholars that included the leading thinkers of the day.⁸¹ *Fideles* of Matilda, in tune with her ideas of church reform, included Bishop Anselm (II, the Younger) of Lucca, Bishop Rangerius of Lucca (Anselm's successor), John of Mantua, Bonizo of Sutri, the anonymous writer of the *Vita Anselmi*, and others. They were members of the "only princely court in the *regnum* before the last decades of the twelfth century."⁸² Matilda's ability to attract such an intelligent and faithful gathering gives some idea of the influence she wielded. The Lotharingian monk and chronicler Hugh of Flavigny and the canonist Bernold of Constance wrote eulogistic accounts of the countess and her manly mind and deeds, and educated her in the polemics of the Gregorian ideology.⁸³ At that

80 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 129, s.a. 1113, p. 334; Clare Pilsworth, "Could You Just Sign This for Me, John? Doctors, Charters and Occupational Identity in Early Medieval Northern and Central Italy," *Early Medieval Europe* 17:4 (2009): 363-388. I am grateful to Alison Creber for drawing this information to my attention.

81 I.S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 1978), p. 101; idem, "The Friendship Circle of Bernold of Constance and the Dissemination of Gregorian Ideas in Late Eleventh-Century Germany," in ed. Julian Haseldine, *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 185-98; Mario Nobili, "La cultura politica alla corte di Matilde di Canossa," in ed. Ovidio Capitani, *Le sedi della cultura nell'Emilia romagna: L'alto-medioevo* (Milan, 1983), pp. 217-36; Giuseppe Vecchi, "Temi e momenti di scuola nella 'Vita Mathildis' di Donizzone," *Studi matildici* (Modena, 1964), pp. 210-17; and Elke Goez, "Matilde e i Canossa e i suoi ospiti," in ed. P. Golinelli, *I poteri dei Canossa*, pp. 325-33.

82 Witt, *Two Latin Cultures*, p. 292.

83 Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon Hugonis monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis Abbatis Flaviniacensis*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS 8:280-502 (1848), s.a. 1084, 2.462, l. 12; Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon: Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz, 1054-1100*, ed. I.S. Robinson, MGH SSRG, n.s. 14:383-540 (2003), s.aa. 1089, p. 478; 1090, p. 482; 1097, p. 531. See also Anke Holdenried, *The Sibyl and her Scribes: Manuscripts and*

time, the instruction of the laity by the clergy was not uncommon: Count Frederick of Mömpelgard from the Burgundian-Lotharingian nobility, a kinsman of Matilda, and Count Robert I of Flanders were two of those coached in anti-imperial polemics.⁸⁴ Matilda is the best documented and arguably the one with most influence. Other followers of what are often called Gregorian ideals who were part of that household included Paul of Bernried (Pope Gregory VII's biographer), Cardinal Deusdedit, and the political theorist Manegold of Lautenbach.⁸⁵ John of Mantua addressed his commentary on the *Song of Songs* to Matilda. Bishop Anselm (II) of Lucca was also her confessor. Those men formed a political and intellectual household for the countess, particularly in opposition to the polemics of the empire. Individual bishops and abbots advised Empress Adelheid, but an organized group like Matilda's was not available to her.

As well as maintaining a philosophical salon, Matilda had extensive contacts with members of the clergy and spiritual advisors. They were not related by blood but formed a select family to which she turned during her life for such matters, in effect a spiritual family. The first and most influential connection was formed between Matilda and the great supporter of church reform, Pope Gregory VII. Gregory called Matilda his daughter in Christ and was not part of her formal household nor she of his. Rather, their relationship was one of spiritual *amicitia*. She continued her support for church reform with the approval of six more popes. Other church leaders contributed to Matilda's spiritual household. Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury and Bishop Anselm (II) of Lucca (also part of her philosophical salon as mentioned above), among others, provided her with spiritual guidance. The monk Donizo praised her secular and her spiritual actions in his *Life* about her, but may not have had much direct

Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050-1500 (Aldershot, 2006), p. 5; and John France, "Holy War and Holy Men: Erdmann and the Lives of the Saints," in eds Marcus G. Bull, et al., *The Experience of Crusading, Volume 1: Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 193-208.

84 Robinson, *Authority*, pp. 101-102. See also Paolo Golinelli in Donizo, *Vita Mathildis*, p. 125ⁿ⁷.

85 Paul of Bernried, *Vita Gregorii VII papae*, ed. J.B.M. Watterich, in *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 1:474-545 (Aalen, 1966); Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores et symoniacos et reliquos schismaticos*, ed. D. Sackur, MGH Ldl 2:292-365 (1892); Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum. Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, ed. V.W. von Glanvell, vol. 1 (Aalen, 1967); Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfelmum*, trans. R. Ziolkowski (Paris, 2002); and Alex Novikoff, "Licit and Illicit in the Rhetoric of the Investiture Conflict," in eds Ruth Mazo Karras, Joel Kaye, and E. Ann Matter, *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2008), p. 186.

contact with her. Just as the Cluniac foundation and reforms had influenced Adelheid's life, a hundred years later the actions and words of Abbot Hugh of Cluny influenced Matilda. Another Hugh, archbishop of Lyons and a keen reformer, eagerly informed Matilda about and requested her involvement in church matters. Empress Adelheid had the spiritual support of Abbot Maiolus of Cluny, of Abbot Odilo of Cluny and of her confessor, Ecceman. However, in that earlier period of greater unity between the church and the empire there was less need to form alliances against a common enemy.

Like Adelheid, Matilda inherited extensive property that needed to be retained and managed as an intrinsic part of her household. Her father and mother left their wealth to their remaining child and Matilda had legitimate claims on the inheritance of her first husband, Godfrey III of Lower Lotharingia (the "Hunchback"). Her landholdings were extensive and her other wealth was substantial. However, when pressed by the expenses involved in the battles against Emperor Henry IV in support of the popes and church reform, she took gold and silver from the Abbeys of Nonantola and St Apollonio at Canossa, which she and her heir, King Henry V, later repaid.⁸⁶ To Matilda as to Adelheid, the heavenly treasure was more important than the earthly treasure, at least in theory. Matilda's supporter, Anselm of Lucca, stated "that she does not [...] waste her possessions in vain, but rather lays up for herself an unfailing treasure in heaven."⁸⁷ Adelheid was subject to the belief by the German empire that dotal lands belonged to the empire. Her solution was to donate much land to the church. Matilda's lands, like Adelheid's, were subject to predation. She fought a long case with her nephew, Godfrey of Bouillon, over his claim to property from his uncle, Godfrey the Hunchback, to which Matilda had claim as Godfrey the Hunchback's widow.⁸⁸ Between 1074 and 1081 she reputedly donated her allodial lands to the church and confirmed that decision in 1102.⁸⁹

86 For the dealings with Nonantola, see Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 39, s.a. 1088, p. 132; no. 71, s.a. 1102, pp. 210-12; no. 110, s.a. 1108, p. 294; no. 115, s.a. 1109, p. 305; no. 134, s.a. 1114, p. 343; no. 153, s.a. 1115, p. 389; Dep. 52, s.a. 1091, pp. 424-25; Dep. 79, s.a. 1109, p. 443; Dep. 86, doubtful, s.a. 1115, pp. 447-48; and no. A13, s.a. 1116, p. 497. For the dealings with St Apollonio at Canossa, see no. Dep. 41, uncertain authenticity, s.a. 1082, p. 418; no. Dep. 46, uncertain authenticity, s.a. 1082-1085, p. 421; and no. A11, s.a. 1116-1118, pp. 493-94.

87 "quae non in vanum, sicut tu dicis [...] sed indeficientem in caelo thesaurizat sibi thesaurum." Anselm of Lucca, *Liber contra Wibertum*, ed. E. Bernheim, MGH Ldl 1:517-28 (1891), p. 527.

88 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 96.

89 Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, Dep. 37, Lateran (1074-1081). Uta-Renate Blumenthal dates the initial gift to 1079 in Christopher Kleinhenz, ed., *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, 2 vols (New York, 2004), s.v. "Matilda, Countess of Tuscany." For the confirmation of the decision

The rights to those lands, the disentangling of the fiefs from the independent possessions of Matilda, became a cause for dissension between the empire and the church for two hundred years after her death in 1115, when they eventually reached an agreement.⁹⁰

The ability to manage finances, to control their surroundings, and to exercise patronage (if their situation allowed) was the preoccupation of all households in the Middle Ages. We have seen that women performed crucial roles in elite households, widely defined as being comprised of family members (by blood and by marriage), domestic staff (chamberlains, butlers, servants), administrative personnel (chancellors, judges), members of local elites (counts) and of other local communities (land-tenants, fishermen), military men (*miles*), intellectuals (scholars, canonists, chroniclers), and spiritual contributors (abbots, abbesses, bishops, monks, and other clerics). Many members of the household performed more than one function. For elite households the concept of the retinue remained particularly important, since appropriate court display was a crucial component of effective rulership. For royal and noble families the household held a wider political and economic significance.⁹¹

Because much royal and comital business was conducted through the household, the domestic sphere merged into the public-political sphere. In late tenth-century Italy and eleventh-century Tuscany, public institutions persisted. For Matilda of Tuscany, whose specific comital household has been examined in this article, the public-administrative functions of the household were to the fore. Between the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh century, royal and comital women were able to control the finances of the household to a great extent during their lifetimes. For that time our remaining sources are less definitive and more scattered, and our conclusions must be more tentative. By the latter half of the eleventh century, royal women appear to be losing that control. In contrast, the records of the comital court reveal considerable control, although the lands held as royal-imperial fiefs remained vulnerable. The approval of the two main women under examination was

in 1102, see Matilda of Tuscany, *Diplomata*, no. 73, Canossa, 17 November 1102, pp. 213-17; Alfred Overmann, *Gräfin Mathilde von Tuscien: Ihre Besitzungen, Geschichte ihres Gutes von 1115-1230 und ihre Regesten* (Innsbruck, 1895), pp. 143-44.

90 I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 246-48 and 449; Demetrius Zema, "The Houses of Tuscany and of Pierleone in the Crisis of Rome in the Eleventh Century," *Traditio* 2 (1944), 157-69; and Luigi Simeoni, "Il contributo della contessa Matilde al Papato nella lotta per le investiture," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947): 353-72.

91 I am especially indebted here to Alison Creber for her thoughts and statements on the broader aspects of the household.

important to their subjects and others, who went to considerable trouble to gain and retain their patronage.

The tenth-century Ottonian women operated in a climate of general support from a wide variety of people, not just those who would be considered part of their household. Empress Adelheid's household was both more and less circumscribed than Countess Mathilda's. The regal-imperial households depended on the personal patronage of the ruler. Adelheid's position in her household was strong. However, in the uncertainty of inheritance when primogeniture was not fixed, rebellions were frequent, often initiated by close kin. The favored members of the household consequently fluctuated for those reasons. The Ottonian women, Adelheid, Theophanu, and Abbess Mathilda of Quedlinburg, nevertheless, enjoyed contemporary approval and exercised great power through their households. In contrast, Countess Matilda operated with a household comprised of fewer kin and more kith, that is, fewer related to her by blood and more whom she had found faithful and gathered around her as followers. As a member of the nobility rather than the imperial household (although closely related to that family), she had extra freedoms not available to Adelheid. Her properties were not as large, but they were varied and scattered. Matilda adopted regalian powers that revealed themselves in the regnal structure of her charters, in the organization of an administrative household of judges, notaries, witnesses and scribes, and in her allocation of penalties where half the fine went to the successful appellant and the other half to herself. Altogether, finances, control, and patronage continued to be important for the good management of the household for the period under study between the tenth and early twelfth centuries in Germany and Italy.

Often the details of how those two aristocratic women managed their households remain obscure or are missing, especially for the tenth century, and many operational matters must be deduced. Our conclusions at times must be tentative, since detailed household documents that must have existed to support the diplomata no longer remain. There is no doubt that the women were aware of the quantity, variety and specifications of their landed properties and other goods, and that they took an active role in their management. Sometimes this included direct intervention in the administration of some estates and at other times supervision from a distance. Their households were not limited to a small retinue of family and *fideles*, but encompassed a wider network. A vast number of members of the household ran the estates under the guidance of the two women. Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda were highly organized, active and powerful. In the glimpses of how they operated effectively through their households we add further to our understanding of the basis of the power of medieval women.

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Æthelings and their Entourages in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Households, Retinues, and Networks of Two Sons of King Æthelred the Unready

David McDermott

The household of an Anglo-Saxon king in the tenth and eleventh-centuries was the chief apparatus through which the monarch could exercise his kingship. In his appointment of officials the king could express his royal dignity and dispense patronage, indicating simultaneously his ability to maintain a retinue and bestow favor upon those whom the king considered worthy of inclusion in the royal entourage. Appointment to the king's household was beneficial not only to the monarch but also to those who held office in the royal retinue. To be a member of the king's entourage brought opportunities for political power and personal advancement that were not available to those outside the king's inner circle of associates.¹

The same considerations of exercising royal authority, displaying the trappings of kingship, and dispensing patronage, also applied to the households of an Anglo-Saxon king's sons, the *æthelings*. Although they did not have resources to match those of the king, Anglo-Saxon princes are known to have maintained entourages that in some respects reflected the offices found in the king's retinue. The men who constituted the household of an *ætheling* also indicate, as they do in the king's entourage, who was held in the highest regard and who was considered closest to the *ætheling* in outlook. While the retinues of *æthelings* bear some resemblance to those of kings and to those of richer nobles, both men and women, whose wealth was comparable to that of an *ætheling*, it is not possible to draw comparisons between the entourages of *æthelings* and Anglo-Saxon queens and royal daughters, who are poorly represented in the historical record.

The entourages of Anglo-Saxon kings in the tenth and eleventh-centuries is a topic that is relatively rich in resources but the subject has, perhaps

¹ The extent to which membership of an English king's household could benefit the office holder is discussed in Alexander R. Brondarbit's essay, Chapter 8 in this volume.

surprisingly, produced comparatively few academic studies.² The personal households of Anglo-Saxon princes are considerably less well represented in the historical record, which may explain why they have received correspondingly less attention from the academic community. In his investigation of the exile in Normandy of the æthelings Edward, later King Edward the Confessor, and his brother Alfred, Simon Keynes established that Edward was regarded as “king” before his return to England in 1041.³ Pauline Stafford has demonstrated that in the reign of King Æthelred II the “Unready,” æthelings in their minority shared a common household and common lands.⁴ For Nicholas Higham, the significance of the will of the ætheling Athelstan, a key source for examining the entourage of an ætheling, is the degree to which the bequests made to the senior northern aristocrats who supported the invasion of England by Swein Forkbeard, indicate differences in the policies of Athelstan and his father, King Æthelred.⁵ The importance of Athelstan’s will for understanding the ætheling’s network of associates is acknowledged by Ann Williams, who has compared Athelstan’s retainers to those of his brother Edmund, later King Edmund II Ironside, and has written illuminatingly on the social significance of the weaponry and horses bequeathed by Athelstan.⁶ The most comprehensive study on æthelinghood to date is that of Barbara Yorke, whose paper on Edward the Elder addresses in particular the training considered appropriate for a ninth-century Anglo-Saxon prince, and how his father might assist his accession.⁷ Scholarly attention has also been directed, by Nicholas Hooper,

2 Laurence M. Larson, “The King’s Household in England before the Norman Conquest,” *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin* 100 (1904): 54–204; Richard Abels, “Household Men, Mercenaries and Vikings in Anglo-Saxon England,” in ed. J. France, *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 143–66; Katherin Mack, “Changing Thegns: Cnut’s Conquest and the English Aristocracy,” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 16:4 (1984): 375–87; Simon Keynes, “Cnut’s Earls,” in ed. Alexander R. Rumble, *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway* (London, 1994), pp. 43–88.

3 Keynes, “The Æthelings in Normandy,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991): 173–205.

4 Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women’s Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 85, 120, and n. 131.

5 Nicholas Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud, 1997), p. 41.

6 See two works by Ann Williams, *Æthelred the Unready: The Ill-Counselled King* (London, 2003), p. 115; and *The World Before Domesday: The English Aristocracy 900–1066* (London, 2008), pp. 107–11.

7 Barbara Yorke, “Edward as Ætheling,” in *Edward the Elder 899–924*, eds N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (London, 2001), pp. 25–39. Another notable, scholarly consideration of the æthelinghood of an Anglo-Saxon king is that of Edward’s son Æthelstan, by Sarah Foot, *Æthelstan: The First King of England* (London, 2011), pp. 10–17, 29–62.

at the career of Edgar Ætheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside;⁸ and the military associates of the adult Edgar have been investigated by Geoffrey Barrow.⁹

Each of these investigations have made a valuable contribution to the study of æthelinghood but their focus has not been the range and type of offices that existed in the household of an ætheling. With specific reference to the eldest sons of King Æthelred II, Athelstan and his brother Edmund, the purpose of this paper is to examine in detail the structure and organization of the household of an ætheling. In order to contextualize the investigation of the ætheling's entourages, they are compared to the retinues of Anglo-Saxon kings and richer thegns. The extent to which the personnel of one ætheling's household transferred to that of the other is also considered. In addition, the social and political associations of each ætheling will be analyzed, as will the issue of gift exchange. The concentration in the late Anglo-Saxon period of the primary sources that make such an undertaking possible provide a convenient and practical terminus for the objectives of this study. The temporary displacement of the royal House of Wessex in 1017, until its short-lived restoration in 1042, inaugurated a period of innovation for royal entourages, changes which are beyond the scope of this paper but which are deserving of research.¹⁰

From the will of the ætheling Athelstan, it is possible to identify at least five, and possibly six, offices that were performed in his household. Among those who received bequests from the ætheling were his chaplain (*mæssepreoste*), Ælfwine; his seneschal (*discpene*) Ælfmær; his retainers (*cnihtas*) Æthelwine and Ælfmær; his sword-polisher (*swurdwhitan*) Ælfnoth; and an unnamed stag-huntsman (*headorhunton*). Several references in the will to a Wulfric, who made a sword, gold belt, and an armlet for Athelstan, may indicate that the ætheling retained a smith to manufacture weapons and jewelry for him.¹¹ Unlike the aforementioned members of Athelstan's retinue, Wulfric is not specifically referred to as belonging to the ætheling's entourage, making his membership of Athelstan's household questionable. Wulfric may, according to an intriguing suggestion by Ann Williams, have been a monk at the Old Minster,

8 Nicholas Hooper, "Edgar the Ætheling: Anglo-Saxon prince, rebel and crusader," *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985): 197-214.

9 G.W.S. Barrow, "Companions of the Ætheling," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 25 (2002): 35-45.

10 These issues are discussed in Larson, "The King's Household;" Mack, "Changing Thegns;" Keynes, "Cnut's Earls;" Abels, "Household Men."

11 S 1503, *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters* <www.esawyer.org.uk>. The date of Athelstan's death, and the witnessing of the will, have been established convincingly as 25 June, 1014; Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred "The Unready" 978-1016: A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 267.

Winchester.¹² His contact with Athelstan may therefore have been limited to when the ætheling visited the city. Athelstan's will also refers to the emancipation of all his penally enslaved men (*witafæstnemen*).¹³ It is not known, however, how many men Athelstan had acquired in the course of jurisdiction. Neither is it known how many of these men, if any, worked as part of Athelstan's household or on his estates, or both.

It is clear from Athelstan's will that his entourage consisted of men who occupied formally designated positions, but an observation by Stephen Baxter, based on a passage in William of Malmesbury, invites speculation that some of the posts which may have existed in the retinues of æthelings may have been a sinecure. The presence of *milites* in comital households fulfilled not only the practical function of protecting the person of their lord but, it is suggested, were a means by which the lord displayed his status and prestige.¹⁴ In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is probable that the offices mentioned in Athelstan's household were performed. It is possible, however, that the entourages of some æthelings contained offices that were not performed but reflected the ætheling's ideas and aspirations about their own status. Such offices, therefore, would not be a reliable indication of how the ætheling's retinue was structured.

In addition to revealing the office held by certain members of Athelstan's entourage, the ætheling's will may also allow for the status of the office-holder to be reasonably inferred. As has been suggested by Williams, the household officers of thegns, especially those who were part of the retinue of a "greater lord," were themselves thegns. Such office-holders were not servants as such but men "of substance" who, in terms of confidence, friendship and rank, were closer to their lord than other members of the household.¹⁵ This may also have been the case in Athelstan's entourage. The bequest of eight hides of land, a stallion, a shield and a sword to his seneschal Ælfmær is comparable to the

¹² Williams, *World Before Domesday*, p. 199, n. 30. 10 S 1503.

¹³ S 1503.

¹⁴ Stephen Baxter, "The Earls of Mercia and Their Commended Men in the Mid Eleventh Century," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 22 (2000): 23-46, at p. 30; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), vol.1, pp. 358-59. Scholarly attention has also been given by Charles Insley to the family of the Mercian magnate Wulfric Spott in "The Family of Wulfric Spott: An Anglo-Saxon Marcher Dynasty?" in ed. David Roffe, *The English and Their Legacy 900-1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams* (Woodridge, 2012), pp. 115-28.

¹⁵ Williams, *World Before Domesday*, p. 67.

bequest Athelstan made to Sigferth, a leading thegn of the “Five Boroughs.”¹⁶ Similarly, thegnly status may also have been held by the ætheling’s chaplain, who received an estate, a sword and a horse with its accompanying harness (*gerædon*).¹⁷ The grant of eight hides of land to Athelstan’s retainer, also called Ælfmær, and the bequest of the stud at Coldridge (Wilts.) to the unnamed stag-huntsman, may also indicate that these men enjoyed thegnly status.¹⁸ The same might not be true of Athelstan’s other identified retainer, Æthelwine, who only received the sword he had previously given to Athelstan at some unknown time. The several references in the ætheling’s will to weaponry – eleven swords, one blade, two shields and a ring-shirt (*byrnan*) – have led Stafford and Williams to suggest, independently, that Athelstan may have had a military household.¹⁹ The ætheling also bequeathed a total of five horses but it is not known how many of them, if any, might have been used for war. The two references to a stallion (*stedan*) may indicate, as suggested by Williams, that they were ridden exclusively for war.²⁰

The military nature of Athelstan’s entourage and by implication, his possession of a military network, is made significant by comparing the ætheling’s household to that of the king. The number of Æthelred’s known military engagements is very few and consequently he does not have the reputation of a warrior-king. Furthermore, with the exception of some references in his diplomas to soldiers (*miles*), Æthelred’s retinue was not overtly military. In contrast, Athelstan seems to display an interest in martial affairs that Æthelred appears to have lacked. The ætheling’s concern for military accoutrements

16 Sigferth received an estate, a horse, a shield and a sword; S 1503, p. 595. The Five Boroughs are identified as Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (London, 2000), p. 110. For a discussion of the possibility that Sigferth may have been associated with a different grouping of boroughs, see Gareth Williams, “Towns and Identities in Viking England,” in eds D.M. Hadley and Letty Ten Harkel, *Everyday Life in Viking Towns: Social Approaches to Viking Age Towns in Ireland and England c. 850-1100* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 11-34, at pp. 28-30.

17 S 1503. As noted by Ann Williams, Athelstan’s bequest of a sword to his chaplain would have contravened Archbishop Wulfstan’s stricture against priests bearing arms; *World Before Domesday*; p. 64; Roger Fowler, *Wulfstan’s Canons of Edgar* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 10-11, 36.

18 S 1503.

19 S 1503; Stafford, “The Reign of Æthelred II, A Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action,” in ed. D.H. Hill, *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 15-56, at p.35; Williams, *World Before Domesday*, p. 110.

20 S 1503. The colors of three of the horses: white (*hpitan*), black (*blacne*) and pied (*fagan*), may indicate that they were Arab stallions from Spain, or had been bred from such horses. Williams, *World Before Domesday*, p. 111.

might therefore be explained by Athelstan equipping himself and his closest associates with the means to resist the Viking incursions that characterized the closing years of Æthelred's reign. In displaying his military prowess against the Vikings, Athelstan could also demonstrate his suitability for the throne.

The absence of comparative material makes it difficult to determine whether Athelstan's household reflected his position as the senior ætheling, but it is possible to make some comparisons between his entourage and that of his brother Edmund. Among the witnesses to Edmund's lease for Holcombe (Devon), granted to the ætheling by King Æthelred, are one Leofwine, the "Ætheling's seneschal" (*æþelinges discþegn*), and Edmund's retainers (*cnihtas*) Ælfgeat and Ælfweard. Unlike Athelstan's will, Edmund's lease does not assist in determining the status of the members of his household but it may be inferred that Leofwine, like Athelstan's seneschal, was probably a thegn. The priests Ealdwine and Wulfric may have belonged to Edmund's retinue but their attestations do not explicitly identify them as such. They may have been local clerics, connected to the community of Sherborne or to one of the several senior ecclesiastics who witnessed the lease. However, their position in the lease's witness list, after "all the prominent thegns of Dorset" (*ealle þa ildostan ðægnas on Dorsæton*) but before the attestation of Edmund's seneschal, may indicate they belonged to Edmund's entourage.²¹

A general reference to other, unidentified members of Edmund's household (*ealle þe geopre hiredmen*) illustrates the observation made by Williams that unless their name appears in the witness list, the majority of a noble's followers are imperceptible.²² These anonymous men and women, described by Sarah Foot as the "invisible machine," would have performed the duties essential for organizing Edmund's public and private life.²³ The need for such people to maintain a retinue strongly indicates their existence also in Athelstan's household. Edmund's lease for Holcombe also indicates that the size of his entourage, and probably that of Athelstan, was larger than can be reconstructed from the extant evidence.²⁴

21 S 1422 (1007 x 1014).

22 S 1422; Williams, *World Before Domesday*, p. 63.

23 Foot, *Æthelstan*, p. 64.

24 Further evidence for one of the positions that may have existed in Edmund's household, when he was an ætheling, is the grant to Christ Church, Canterbury of Walworth, which had been given to King Edmund's jester, Nithard (*Eadmundus rex dedit cuidam ioculatori suo nomine Nithardo*). The association of the charter with Edward the Confessor would make Edmund Ironside the "King Edmund" to whom it refers. Alternatively, Nithard may have been the *ioculator* of King Edmund I, making the King Edward to whom the charter

A further indication that the retinues of æthelings may have been greater than is suggested by the scant sources currently available is the reference to “the companions who ride with me” (*minan geferan*) in the will of Ælfhelm Polga, a wealthy thegn.²⁵ Allowing for the possibility that Ælfhelm was not unique in having such associates, it is reasonable to speculate that Athelstan and Edmund also had a troupe of men who regularly accompanied the æthelings on their travels. There is, unfortunately, no record for either Athelstan or Edmund, that identifies any of their household as a travelling companion (*fere*) but given the itinerant nature of Anglo-Saxon lordship,²⁶ it is probable that some of those named in Athelstan’s will and Edmund’s lease rode with their lord.

Despite the paucity of detail concerning the organization of the retinues of Athelstan and Edmund there is sufficient information to allow for some comparisons to be made with the entourages of kings. The office of chaplain can be found in the retinue of Edward the Elder,²⁷ and King Eadred’s will, which refers to all his mass-priests (*aelcan minra mæssepreosta*), demonstrates that the office could be fulfilled by several individuals simultaneously.²⁸ Evidence for the office of a chaplain in the household of a richer thegn is rare. Only two references to *mæssepreosta* in the late Anglo-Saxon period can confidently be connected to the thegn’s entourage. Intriguingly, considering the comparative under-representation of women in the early medieval record, both references relate to the retinues of women.²⁹ The dearth of documentation for chaplains in the retinues of richer thegns is not necessarily an indication that religion was not observed in these non-kingly households, but the lack of evidence is

refers Edward the Martyr; “Nithard (182),” in eds N.P. Brooks and S.E. Kelly, *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury, Part 2* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 1211–12.

25 S 1487 (AD 975 x 1016).

26 Levi Roach, “Hosting the King: Hospitality and the Royal *Iter* in Tenth-Century England,” *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011): 34–46; Ryan Lavelle, “Ine 70.1 and Royal Provision in Anglo-Saxon Wessex,” in eds Gale R. Owen Crocker and Brian W. Schneider, *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 259–74.

27 S 368 (AD 903).

28 S 1515 (AD 951 x 955).

29 S 1808 (AD 900 x 1000): the Lady Ælfhild, wife of Ealdorman Ælfwold, granted land to her chaplain Almær. The Lady Æðelflæd, niece of King Æthelstan, had an unnamed chaplain who was also her teacher. “Sancti Dunstani Vita Auctore B,” in *Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1874), p. 9. References to chaplains in the post-Cnut, pre-Norman period appear to be even rarer: Thurstan, son of Wine, granted an estate to his chaplains (*hirdpreosta*) Purstan and Ordeah; S 1531 (AD 1043 x 1045).

more likely to be a demonstration of the fragmentary nature of the historical record.

Occasionally, when referring to the office of chaplain in the household of a king, the sources sometimes employ the synonyms "*presbyter*" or "*sacerdos*" instead of *mæssepreost*.³⁰ A king may have had a plurality of chaplains, as is evidenced by a diploma of Edward the Elder, witnessed by several *presbyteri*.³¹ It is probable that the individual Æðelstan, who attested Edward the Elder's diplomas as both *mæssepreost* and *presbyter*, was the same person, indicating that the terms were interchangeable.³² Another combination of different titles being used simultaneously can be found in the reign of King Æthelred, where one of his diplomas was attested by his "faithful" *sacerdos*, Wulfic, and his *presbyter* Wulfstan.³³ The extent of the lands which Æthelred granted to these ecclesiastics, and the property which the latter clergyman bequeathed, indicate that they were high-ranking.³⁴

The possibility that the two priests who witnessed Edmund's lease for Holcombe were part of his household may receive some support from the will of King Eadred which, in addition to mentioning his chaplains, also includes a collective bequest to his priests (*preosta*), but unfortunately their precise number is not disclosed.³⁵ It may also be significant that the only evidence for a priest in the entourage of a late Anglo-Saxon king is found in Eadred's will, but this too may be accounted for by the incomplete nature of the sources for this period. The wills of richer thegns provide greater evidence, however. Ælfhelm Polga's will makes reference to only one priest,³⁶ but he may have had more who did not receive a bequest, as is suggested by the wills of other thegns which indicate that some thegny households had several priests.³⁷ The eman-

30 Single instances of "*presbyter*" can be found in S 395 (AD 925) and S 505 (AD 945). Single instances of "*sacerdos*" can be found in S 364 (AD 957).

31 S 364 (AD 901), witnessed by *presbyteri* Johannes, Eadmund and Æðelstan; S 369 (AD 903), witnessed by *presbyteri* Wærulf and Byrnstan.

32 S 368 (AD 903) is witnessed by "*Æðelstan mess.*"

33 S 859 (AD 985). Also, H.P.R. Finberg, *West Country Historical Studies* (Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 42, n. 2.

34 Wulfstan bequeathed a wharf to Chertsey Abbey, S 940 (AD 1006 x 1011).

35 S 1515.

36 S 1487; Ælfhelm Polga bequeathed an unspecified quantity of woodland to his unnamed priest.

37 Æthelflæd granted two hides of land each to her priests Ælfwolde and Æthelmære; S 1494 (AD 962 x 991); and Æthelgifu granted a surplus of produce to an unspecified number of priests; S 1497 (AD 990 x 1001).

cipation of Æthelgifu's priest, Eadwine, also demonstrates that a cleric serving in the retinue of a thegn could be enslaved.³⁸

In the household of a king, as in the entourage of an ætheling, the office of seneschal was referred to as *discþene*, but royal retinues from the reign of King Æthelstan up to the time of King Æthelred sometimes employed the Old English and Latin neologism "*discifer*" to describe the same office.³⁹ It is perhaps a reflection of the greater wealth of a king that they appear to have had more seneschals at any one time than are known for the household of an ætheling. The greatest number of seneschals known to have served simultaneously in the entourage of a king occurred in the reigns of Edgar and Æthelred, both of whom had four seneschals at one time.⁴⁰ The tenure of a royal seneschal could prove to be precarious, with holders of the office rising to the position rapidly, only to lose it just as quickly. The meteoric rise and fall of a royal seneschal is exemplified by Eanulf and Wulfstan who, in the reign of Edgar, each attested diplomas consecutively as *minister*, *miles*, *minister*, *discifer* and then *minister*.⁴¹ A seneschal to a king was also able to hold another office simultaneously: Uhtred is unique amongst the royal *disciferi* for holding the dual posts of minister and discifer to King Æthelstan. It may be significant that Uhtred held these offices during the early years of Æthelstan's reign, which might indicate that the king's retinue was small.⁴² Some royal seneschals appear to have been more closely associated with the king than others, as is indicated by the possessive *regis*, *cyninges* or *hlafordes*. It is unclear how they differed from ordinary *disciferi* but they may have enjoyed an elevated status.⁴³

38 S 1497.

39 The terms *discþene* and *discifer* are to be found in S 450 (AD 943); S 1515; S 597 (AD 956); S 658 (AD 959); S 768 (AD 968) and S 853 (AD 984). The term "steward" is sometimes substituted by modern historians for "seneschal" but the will of King Eadred refers to his *stigweard* and his *discðene*, indicating that they were sufficiently different to be regarded as different offices; S 1515.

40 In the reign of Edgar, S 792 (AD 973) was witnessed by seneschals Æthelweard, Eanulf, Ælfsige and Ælfweard. King Æthelred had four unnamed *disciferi* witness S 853. The attestations of multiple *disciferi* can also be found in S 450 (AD 943 for 924 x 939); S 1515 and S 597.

41 For Eanulf the sequence is S 763 (AD 968); S 766-8 (AD 968); S 770 (AD 969). For Wulfstan the sequence is S 763; S 766-9 (AD 968). In the closing years of Edgar's reign, Eanulf almost repeated the sequence by attesting consecutively as minister, S 790 (AD 973); *discifer*, S 792 and then minister; S 794 (AD 974).

42 S 397 (AD 926).

43 Wulfhelm was *discifer regis* to Æthelstan: S 396 (AD 926); Ælfheah was *cyninges discðen* to Eadred: S 1292 (AD 956 x 957); Ealdred was *regis discifer* to Eadwig: S 651 (AD 958) and Æðelmær was *hlafordes discþegn* to Æthelred: S 914 (AD 1006). Evidence for a seneschal

In contrast to the evidence for the office of *cniht* in the entourage of an ætheling, documentation for this post in the household of a pre-Norman king is rare. The only extant instance is that of “Karl the king’s *cniht*” (*Kar þæs cinges cniht*) whose name appears in the witness list of a marriage agreement in the reign of Cnut.⁴⁴ Despite the apparent absence of a single *cniht* in the retinue of an Anglo-Saxon king, an equivalent position may have existed in the king’s entourage. There are records for a *vassalus* (literally, a servant) in the retinues of Kings Edward the Elder, Edmund I, Eadred, Eadwig, Edgar and Edward the Martyr.⁴⁵ The attestations of these *vassali* as *minister*,⁴⁶ and sometimes also as *miles*,⁴⁷ allows it to be reasonably established that they were part of the king’s entourage. *Cnihtas* are known to have served in the households of richer thegns and some of them may have been thegns themselves. The will of the Mercian magnate Wulfric Spott is particularly telling, as it refers to Wulfric’s *cniht* before referring to Wulfric’s nephew-in-law, Morcar, himself a powerful Mercian thegn.⁴⁸

The retention of a stag-huntsman by the ætheling Athelstan has a parallel in the retinues of Kings Eadwig and Æthelred, both of whom had a huntsman (*venator*), whose status as thegns may be inferred from the gifts of land each man received from their lord.⁴⁹ In the case of Wulfric, huntsman (*hunta*) to

serving in the household of a richer thegn is virtually non-existent. Although the mid-tenth-century will of Thurstan is witnessed by Leofric *disceþegn*, he is not explicitly identified as a member of Thurstan’s retinue, making Leofric’s affiliation uncertain. The apparent absence of seneschals in the entourages of richer thegns may be explained by a lack of evidence, rather than a lack of seneschals. The careers of some of those who occupied a position equivalent to that of seneschal (chamberlain) in the households of fifteenth-century English kings is discussed by Brondarbit in Chapter 8 in this volume.

44 S 1461 (AD 1016 x 1020). The Scandinavian origin of Karl’s name and the English description of his office demonstrate the application of Anglo-Saxon nomenclature in denoting a non-English royal retainer.

45 S 369; S 478; S 559; S 666; S 755 and S 830, respectively.

46 Eadric attested S 462-3; S 465; S 467; S 470; S 475-6; S 488; S 491 and S 511. Ælfwine attested S 567; S 574; S 587-8; S 591-3; S 597; S 610; S 612-14; S 619-20; S 629; S 631; S 634; S 638; S 641; S 643; S 646; S 658-9 and S 661. Wulfnoth attested S 674; S 679; S 722; S 737 and S 757-60. Ælfsige attested S 831; S 832 and S 839.

47 Ælfwine is attested as *miles* in S 642 and S 647 but in an earlier diploma, S 595, he simultaneously held the offices of *minister* and *miles*.

48 S 1536 (AD 1002 x 1004); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, MS. E, p. 146. The wills of other richer thegns that refer to their *cnihtas* are those of Æthelflæd, stepmother of King Edgar: S 1494 (AD 962 x 991); the will of Ælfhelm Polga and the will of Lady Wulfwaru; S 1538 (AD 984 x 1016).

49 S 637 (AD 956) and S 867 (AD 987), respectively.

the Lady Æthelgifu, the seemingly lesser bequest of two oxen and two cows may indicate that he was not a thegn, but he may have been free.⁵⁰ The uncertain status of the artisan Wulfric who crafted objects in precious metals for the ætheling Athelstan appears to be matched by that of Æthelsige, the gold and silversmith (*auri argentique fabrica*) referred to by King Eadred. The king's gift of land "to my man" (*meo homini*) Æthelsige, may imply his membership of Eadred's entourage but the small grant of land, one hide on the Isle of Wight and another in Wiltshire, also obscures Æthelsige's thegnly status.⁵¹ The variations in the status of artificers is well illustrated by the households of richer thegns. Leofsige, Ælfhelm's goldsmith, may have been a free man,⁵² but the emancipation by Æthelgifu of the goldsmith Mann and his family demonstrates that some highly skilled members of retinues were enslaved.⁵³

While the majority of offices performed in the entourages of the æthelings Athelstan and Edmund can be found in those of kings, there are a significant number of posts in a king's retinue for which there is no evidence in the households of the æthelings. One such office is that of secretary (*scriptor*).⁵⁴ Discrepancies such as this may suggest that certain posts were not held in the entourages of Athelstan or Edmund. There is evidence to suggest however that chaplains (*hirdprests*) in the household of Thurstan Lustwine's son (a great-grandson of Ealdorman Byrhtnoth) may have had responsibility for creating and/or keeping documents, effectively acting as secretaries.⁵⁵ The presence of the chaplain Ælfwine in Athelstan's retinue allows for this possibility to be applied to the ætheling. At least one known member of Athelstan's entourage could have fulfilled the office of *scriptor* in practice if not in name.

50 Wulfric's wife and children were slaves but were emancipated by Æthelgifu; S 1497. The case of Wulfric and his family, as indicated by Williams, illustrates the complexities of free and unfree status in the same entourage. Williams, *World Before Domesday*, p. 68.

51 S 543 (AD 949).

52 S 1218a (AD 970 x 999). Williams suggests that Leofsige may also have been a thegn; *World Before Domesday*, p. 68.

53 S 1497. The emancipation of Mann's *cnappa* ("knave;" "boy"), possibly his apprentice, suggests to Williams that the goldsmith maintained his own household within that of his Lady, although none of them were free; *World Before Domesday*, p. 68.

54 Ælfwine was *scriptor* to King Æthelred; S 853 (AD 984). He may have been the Ælfwine from whom eight hides of land were purchased, allowing him to go on pilgrimage; S 894 (AD 998). A possibly earlier example of a secretary may be that of Wolsin, *cancellarius*, who attested a diploma of King Æthelstan; S 454 (AD 924 x 939).

55 Williams, *World Before Domesday*, p. 66.

Many other positions in the households of late Anglo-Saxon kings such as *cubicularius* (*bedþegn*),⁵⁶ *camerarius* (*burhþegn*),⁵⁷ *thesaurarius* (treasurer),⁵⁸ *hrældægn* (keeper of the king's robes),⁵⁹ *pincerna* (butler),⁶⁰ and *propincernarius* (cup bearer),⁶¹ have no match in the retinues of Athelstan or Edmund. The absence of these posts in the recorded entourages of the æthelings does not necessarily signify their non-existence, but more probably reflects the poverty of primary sources available to study the households of Anglo-Saxon princes. Furthermore, in the presumably smaller retinues of æthelings, complementary offices such as *discpene* and *pincerna* may have been combined, contributing to the diminished impression of an ætheling's entourage.

Some of the named individuals in Athelstan's will and Edmund's lease for Holcombe provide valuable information about what may be called the inner circle of their households, but these documents deserve further study for what they can reveal about the æthelings' broader associations. Beginning with the earliest text, Edmund's lease, several witnesses are known only by their attestation of the lease. The presence of Abbot Leofsunu of Cerne can be attributed to his status as a senior ecclesiastic in Dorset. The attendance of Æthelfand however may be connected to that of his father, Ealdorman Æthelmær, a senior West Country noble.⁶² The status of Ælfgeat, son of Hength, and Siward as indigenous aristocracy, and possibly their seniority amongst the local thegns, may be indicated by their attestations appearing just before the reference to "all the chief thegns of Dorset."⁶³ The absence of other contemporary sources connecting Abbot Leofsunu, Æthelfand (Æthelweard?), Ælfgeat and Siward to Edmund suggests that their relationship to the ætheling may have been limited to them witnessing the lease, putting them on the periphery of Edmund's social and political networks.⁶⁴

56 S 706 (AD 962 and S 789 (AD 972).

57 S 713 (AD 963) and S 719 (AD 963).

58 S 454.

59 S 1445 (AD 899 x 924) and S 1515.

60 S 651 (AD 958); S 658 (AD 959) and S 897 (AD 1000).

61 S 651.

62 S 1422. The lease is the only source for Æthelfand but his obscurity may be more apparent than real. Based on the lease surviving only as a cartulary copy, Ann Williams makes a convincing case that the otherwise unknown Æthelfand may be a scribal error for the ealdorman's known son, Æthelweard; *Æthelred the Unready*, p. 114, and n. 23.

63 S 1422.

64 A Siward *minister* attested diplomas for a decade between AD 995-1005 but only two are related to the West Country, making it improbable that the Siward mentioned in the Hol-

Several other West Country witnesses, ecclesiastical and lay, can be shown to be associated with Edmund in other contexts beyond the lease. Bishop Lyfing of Wells attested diplomas with the ætheling before he obtained Holcombe,⁶⁵ continued to do so within the dates of the lease,⁶⁶ and he attested with Edmund after becoming Archbishop of Canterbury.⁶⁷ The attestation of Bishop Æthelric of Sherborne, the leader of the community leasing the land to Edmund, is to be expected, but the bishop's contact with Edmund went further. With one exception, all of the diplomas witnessed by Edmund and Bishop Lyfing were also witnessed by Bishop Æthelric.⁶⁸ Considerably less contact seems to have occurred between Edmund and the third West Country ecclesiastic, Bishop Æthelsige of Cornwall, who attested only two diplomas with the ætheling.⁶⁹

Diploma evidence suggests that Edmund met with Æthelmær, Ealdorman of the Western Provinces, prior to obtaining the lease and before the latter became an ealdorman.⁷⁰ An Æthelmær *minister*, sometimes with Bishops Lyfing and Æthelric, witnessed diplomas with Edmund before the earliest date of the lease.⁷¹ The probability that this Æthelmær is the later ealdorman is supported by his attestation of certain diplomas concerning grants of land in the West Country.⁷² If this identification is correct, almost a decade elapsed between Edmund and Æthelmær witnessing a diploma and the attestation of the lease. The identification of Æthelmær prior to him becoming an ealdorman is complicated slightly by the existence of another Æthelmær who witnessed diplomas with his namesake and Edmund, before the ætheling acquired Holcombe.⁷³ This second Æthelmær, however, continued to attest diplomas with Edmund after the *terminus ante quem* of the lease.⁷⁴ The second Æthelmær also had West Country connections which are evidenced by his

combe lease is the same person; S 885 (AD 995); S 878 (AD 996); S 893 (AD 998) S 899 (AD 1001); S 904 (AD 1002); S 907 (AD 1004) and S 910-11 (AD 1005).

65 S 898-901 (AD 1007); S 904; S 906 (AD 1004) and S 910-12 (AD 1005).

66 S 915 (AD 1007); S 920-23 (AD 1008-1011); S 929 (AD 1012); S 931 (AD 1013) and S 933 (AD 1014).

67 S 934 (AD 1015).

68 S 900-01; S 904; S 906; S 910-12; S 920-24 and S 933.

69 S 922 and S 924.

70 The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* refer to Æthelmær as an ealdorman in an entry for 1013; MS. E, p. 144. Æthelmær first attests as a *dux* in 1014; S 933.

71 S 876 (AD 993); S 878 (AD 996); S 891 (AD 997); S 893 (AD 998) S 898-901; S 904; S 906 and S 910.

72 S 899 and S 910.

73 S 878; S 893; S 901; S 906 and S 910-12.

74 S 915 and S 921-22.

witnessing, along with Bishops Lyfing and Æthelric, diplomas concerned with grants of land in the west of England.⁷⁵

In common with several other witnesses, the lease for Holcombe is the only known attestation of Brihtric the Red (*reada*), whose name appears immediately before the collective reference to the chief thegns of Dorset. There is evidence to suggest, however, that the same Brihtric, witnessing as a *minister* but without the cognomen “Red,” attested several diplomas with the ætheling Edmund.⁷⁶ Approximately half of these diplomas concern grants of land in the West of England, which may indicate that Brihtric was a West Country thegn. Brihtric’s affiliation with the West of England may also be inferred from the appearance of his name in the witness list of two diplomas which are not attested by Edmund, but which are for grants of land in the West Country.⁷⁷ If this identification is correct, it is possible that Brihtric, as a *minister* with connections in the West of England, may have been representing the king at the lease-giving.⁷⁸

Two of the names in the Holcombe witness list indicate that Edmund’s network of associates extended beyond his household and the South-West of England. Archbishop Wulfstan of York, a chief adviser to the king, appears to have acted as interlocutor in the negotiations for Holcombe, communicating Æthelred’s decision about the lease to Edmund and the community of Sherborne.⁷⁹ When Wulfstan was still Bishop of London, he had witnessed diplomas with Edmund⁸⁰ and continued to attest with the ætheling after his appointment to the see of York.⁸¹ These attestations cover a period of twenty years, ranging from Edmund’s early childhood to early manhood, and represent one of the longest associations Edmund is known to have had.

Edmund had a less lengthy relationship with Ealdorman Eadric of Mercia but Æthelred’s diplomas indicate that Edmund knew Eadric prior to acquiring Holcombe, and when the latter was a *minister*.⁸² They continued to attest

75 S 910 and S 921.

76 S 891; S 901; S 904; S 910-12 and S 921.

77 S 890 (AD 997) and S 895 (AD 998).

78 A less probable identification of Brihtric is another bearer of that name who witnessed S 855 (AD 984), and with Edmund, S 910-11. If Brihtric’s appellation “the Red” is a reference to his coloring, it may indicate his connection to the predominantly Celtic population of the West Country.

79 Archbishop Wulfstan is described as having acted as a spokesman “*ærende abead*.”

80 S 878; S 891; S 893; S 989-901 and S 904.

81 S 906; S 910-12; S 915; S 920-24; S 927-9; S 931; S 933 and S 934 (1015).

82 S 898-9; S 901; S 904; S 906 and S 910-12.

together after Eadric became Edmund's brother-in-law and an ealdorman.⁸³ The appearance of Eadric's name in the witness list for Holcombe may be explained by his dominant position in the attestations of the ealdormen from 1012 onwards. As King Æthelred's most senior lay advisor, Eadric, like Archbishop Wulfstan, may have been present to oversee the granting of the lease on behalf of the king.⁸⁴

A rich source of information for other associations formed by Edmund and his brother Athelstan is the latter's will, which is the only source for many of these connections. It is probable that Edmund and Athelstan may have had a close relationship. In a diploma attested by the two æthelings and their younger brother Eadred, only Edmund is referred to as "brother to the aforementioned" (*frater predicti*), meaning Athelstan.⁸⁵ The impression that the two eldest æthelings enjoyed a good relationship is also conveyed by the expensive gifts and responsibilities given to Edmund in Athelstan's will.⁸⁶ The apparent affinity between the brothers may have resulted in their two households coming into close and frequent contact, particularly the inner circles of their respective retinues. This association may have continued after Athelstan's death. It is not unknown for a king to have had multiple mass-priests or seneschals and Edmund, either on becoming the senior ætheling, or at his accession, may have admitted some of Athelstan's entourage to his household.⁸⁷

In addition to the intimate circle of his personal officials and attendants, Athelstan may have had a military network, some of whom may have formed around the senior ætheling in expectation of benefiting from his presumed accession.⁸⁸ These military personnel may be identified by the martial nature of the bequest they received, which may further indicate the closeness of their relationship with Athelstan. With the exception of the gifts made to King Æthelred, the largest bequest of military equipment was made to Edmund, fol-

83 S 922; S 931; S 933 and S 934.

84 S 933 indicates that Eadric was an important landholder in the region, which may also explain his attestation of Edmund's lease. It should be noted however that Simon Keynes has expressed doubt as to the authenticity of the aforementioned diploma; *Diplomas of King Æthelred*, pp. 89, n. 97; 115, 267.

85 S 929.

86 In addition to a silver-plated horn, several edged weapons, lands in East Anglia and an estate in the Peak District, Edmund received a sword reputedly owned by King Offa of Mercia and was made the executor of Athelstan's will; S 1503.

87 The transfer of personnel from one royal household to another is also discussed elsewhere in this volume by Brondarbit, "Political Power-Brokers."

88 For those who sought to profit from Athelstan's succession, see Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 43.

lowed by a leading Mercian thegn, Sigferth. It may be significant in assessing the relative status of the æthelings that the youngest sibling, Eadwig, received only a single sword, as did Eadric, the son of Wynflæd.⁸⁹

Others mentioned in Athelstan's will may have been on the periphery of his military network. These men may be identified by their militaristic gifts to the ætheling, perhaps in the hope of receiving some form of preferment, but the gesture does not seem to have been reciprocated and they did not receive any kind of bequest. Their existence on the fringe of Athelstan's martial connections is also indicated by the ætheling's disposition of their gifts. The swords which Athelstan had received from Ulfcytel and Wither (*Wiðer*) were given, respectively, to King Æthelred and Athelstan's chaplain. Similarly, the horses given to Athelstan by Thurbrand and Leofwine were bequeathed to the king as part of the ætheling's heriot.

The significance of the byrnie that had been with Morcar (*byrnam þe mid Morkære*) but was subsequently given to Æthelred is somewhat uncertain. A literal interpretation of the reference to the byrnie allows for the possibility that although it was with (*mid*) Morcar, he did not actually own it. It may have been on loan from Athelstan who reclaimed it to help pay his heriot to the king. If this was the case, it suggests that Morcar was not as highly favored as his previously mentioned brother, Sigferth. An alternative explanation for this particular passage in the will is that Morcar had donated the ring-shirt to Athelstan who then gave it to the king.⁹⁰ Whichever interpretation is correct, the byrnie was given away and Morcar did not receive a bequest, indicating that he occupied the fringe of Athelstan's associations. Regardless of how the byrnie came to be in Morcar's possession, references to armor in Anglo-Saxon wills prior to 1008 are rare, suggesting, as has been mooted by Nicholas Brooks, that up until that time the wearing of byrnies by English warriors was unusual. The increase in references to English armor after that date might therefore be related to Æthelred's decree in 1008 that every eight hides of land should contribute one helmet and one mail-coat to the defense of the country.⁹¹

There is evidence to indicate that Edmund had varying degrees of contact with some of those who appear to have formed part of Athelstan's military network. In addition to witnessing diplomas with Eadwig, Edmund had also participated in royal business with Sigferth and Morcar. At the time of

89 S 1503. For a discussion of the decoration on these swords, see Williams, *World before Domesday*, pp. 107-9.

90 Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 43.

91 Nicholas Brooks, "Arms, Status and Warfare in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Ethelred the Unready*, pp. 85-90.

Athelstan's death, Edmund had known the brothers for almost a decade, and had slightly more contact with Morcar.⁹² Edmund may also have had prior contact with two other beneficiaries. Eadric, Wynflæd's son, shares his name with a *minister* who attested two diplomas, one with Edmund, in the early eleventh-century.⁹³ This man may be the same Eadric who attested two leases granted by Archbishop Wulfstan. The will also refers to a certain Godwine, who was bequeathed the estate at Compton, formerly owned by his father, Wulfnoth. This may be the Godwine, *minister*, who witnessed a diploma with the ætheling Edmund.⁹⁴ A more tantalizing possibility is that the recipient of Compton is the same Godwine who rose to prominence under Cnut, and whose father was accused of treason by the brother of Ealdorman Eadric.⁹⁵ The confiscation of Wulfnoth's property, and presumably his banishment, may have compelled the effectively disinherited Godwine to enter the service of Athelstan, who rewarded him with the restitution of Compton.⁹⁶ The suggestion that his father's estate was returned to Godwine in recognition of his service to Athelstan was regarded as an exaggeration by Frank Barlow, but he did acknowledge that the bequest indicated that Godwine was favored by the senior ætheling.⁹⁷ As indicated, the Godwine mentioned in Athelstan's will may also have become the Earl Godwine who served Cnut and successive kings of England up to and including Edward the Confessor. In promoting Godwine to the position of earl, according to E.A. Freeman, Cnut was in part recognizing the distinguished service Godwine had given in fighting for Edmund.⁹⁸ In making his argument, Freeman may have had in mind the reference in the

92 With Eadwig, Edmund attested S 899; S 904; S 900-01; S 906; S 910-12; S 915; S 923; S 931 and S 933. With Sigeferth, Edmund attested S 911; S 922; S 931 and S 933. With Morcar, Edmund attested S 890; S 906; S 911; S 922; S 924; S 928 and S 931. It should also be noted that with the exceptions of S 933-4, the name of Athelstan appears in the witness list of every diploma attested by Edmund.

93 S 902 (AD 1002) and S 915. This man may be the same Eadric who attested two leases granted by Archbishop Wulfstan; S 1385 (AD 1003 x 1016) and S 1384 (1017). Eadric may also have been the son of the Wynflæd who contested a land dispute; S 1454 (AD 990 x 992).

94 S 922.

95 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, MS. E, p. 138 and n. 7.

96 Peter Rex, *Harold II: The Doomed Saxon King* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 22-23.

97 Frank Barlow, *The Godwins: The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty* (Harlow, 2002), p. 20.

98 Edward Augustus Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1867-76), Vol. 1, pp. 450-51.

Encomium Emmae of Cnut's love for those "whom he had heard to have fought previously for Edmund faithfully without deceit."⁹⁹

Godwine may not have been the only one of Athelstan's associates who transferred their loyalty to Edmund on the elder ætheling's death, and then found a position in Cnut's administration. Katherine Mack has demonstrated that it is enormously difficult to identify positively those thegns who witnessed Æthelred's last diplomas with those of the same name who attested Cnut's first diploma. The doubt that they were the same men increases, it is argued, when one examines the interval between a subscription last appearing in a diploma of Æthelred and it first appearing for Cnut.¹⁰⁰ The Leofwine *minister* who last witnessed for Æthelred in 1015 is therefore unlikely to be the man with the same name who first attested for Cnut four years later. The Leofwine who witnessed Cnut's first diploma might instead be a former associate of Athelstan or Edmund who found favor with Cnut; he may have been the Leofwine who gave a horse to Athelstan, or he may even have been Edmund's seneschal.¹⁰¹

Edmund's network of associates may also have included some of those mentioned in Athelstan's will who did not receive a bequest. The Ulfcytel who gave a sword to Athelstan may have been the *minister* with the same name who witnessed a number of diplomas with Edmund.¹⁰² Another Ulfcytel is counted amongst the ealdorman slain at the battle of *Assandun*.¹⁰³ The possibility that they were the same man is suggested by the attestations of Ulfcytel *minister* coming to an end with the accession of Cnut. It may also be possible to establish that Athelstan and Edmund had met with Thurbrand prior to the witnessing of the will. The æthelings were witness to a grant of land to Morcar that was also attested by a Thurbrand *minister*.¹⁰⁴ The Thurbrand of Athelstan's will has been tentatively identified by Nicholas Higham as the Yorkshire magnate Thurbrand the "Hold," who may also have been the man with the same name responsible for killing Edmund's brother-in-law, Earl Uhtred. The identification of the man who gave a horse to Athelstan with the Yorkshire Thurbrand

99 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. A. Campbell (London, 1949), p. 31. Another, but less likely, candidate for the Godwine mentioned in Athelstan's will is the *minnister* who attested alongside Edmund at the turn of the tenth and eleventh-centuries but the dates of these diplomas suggest that he was not of Edmund's generation; S 878; S 898; S 906; S 911-12; S 922 and S 933.

100 Mack, "Changing Thegns," p. 385 and n. 73; p. 386 and n. 74.

101 S 934 and S 956 (AD 1019).

102 S 900; S 906; S 910-12; S 915; S 922; S 931 and S 933.

103 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, MSS. D, E, and F, pp.152-3.

104 S 922.

is based purely on the fact that their names are identical. Athelstan's Thurbrand may therefore be one, or both, or neither of the other Thurbrands.¹⁰⁵ The uncommonly named Wither may be easier to identify. Only a very small number of men are known to have had this name in the Anglo-Saxon period, which increases the probability that Wither may be the *minister* of the same name who witnessed two diplomas with Athelstan and Edmund late in Æthelred's reign.¹⁰⁶ It may even be possible to establish that the æthelings had previous contact with the Leofwine who gave a white horse to Athelstan. Two *ministri* named Leofwine witnessed diplomas with Athelstan and Edmund but it is more probable that the Leofwine who attested with them over an eleven year period, rather than on one occasion, is the man mentioned in the will.¹⁰⁷

Several religious communities received gifts from Athelstan but the lack of primary sources makes it impossible to establish the origin of Athelstan's relationship, or the frequency of his contact, with them.¹⁰⁸ There is evidence however of at least one meeting between Athelstan and Edmund and one of the two named senior ecclesiastics who witnessed Athelstan's will; late in Æthelred's reign, the æthelings attested a diploma with Bishop Ælfsige of the Old Minster, Winchester,¹⁰⁹ and after his brother's death, Edmund witnessed another two diplomas with the bishop.¹¹⁰ The will also refers to Bishop Ælfsige in the context of the widow of a certain Æthelwold, whom Athelstan had been supporting financially. The reason for Athelstan contributing to the widow's income is unknown but she may have been married to one of the two *ministri* named Æthelwold who attested diplomas, sometimes together, with Athelstan and Edmund and who appear to have predeceased them.¹¹¹

The primary sources available for investigating the households of late Anglo-Saxon æthelings are lamentably scarce, but those that have survived the

105 Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 43. For Thurbrand's appellation "Hold" and the killing of Uhtred, see Simeon of Durham, "De Obsessione Dunelmi," in ed. T. Arnold, *Simeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* (London, 1882), vol. 1, p. 218.

106 S 911 and S 922.

107 The first Leofwine attested S 878; S 891; S 893; S 904; S 906; S 910-11 and S 915. The second Leofwine attested only S 911.

108 The will refers to the Old Minster, Winchester; Christ Church, Canterbury; the Nunnery, Winchester; the New Minster, Winchester; the community at Shaftesbury and the community at Ely.

109 S 931.

110 S 933-34. The other named senior ecclesiastic is Abbot Brihtmær of the New Minster, Winchester.

111 The first Æthelwold witnessed S 901; S 906; S 910-11 and S 915. The second Æthelwold witnessed S 911 and S 922.

centuries allow for some comparisons to be made with the entourages of kings. With few exceptions, most of the posts known to have existed in the retinues of the æthelings Athelstan and Edmund can be found in those of kings and richer thegns. In the households of kings, some of these offices had other titles. A range of posts in the retinues of kings appear not to have been performed in the entourages of Athelstan and Edmund. These discrepancies may be explained by variations in diplomatic language and the rarity of primary sources. Those named as belonging to Athelstan's and Edmund's retinues may have constituted an inner circle of their associates and they may have had thegnly status. The anonymity of the majority who served the æthelings is typical of a royal household. The majority of the witnesses to Edmund's lease for Holcombe were affiliated to the West of England and have left no other impression in the historical record. These people may have existed on the fringe of Edmund's social and political network. Several other witnesses to the lease are known to have participated in royal business with Athelstan and Edmund prior to the latter's acquisition of Holcombe, and some of these associations stretched across decades.

The frequent references to weaponry, armor, and horses in Athelstan's will suggest that the senior ætheling kept a military entourage and may have had an extensive military network. Some of these men had regular contact with Athelstan and Edmund in the performance of their royal duties. After Athelstan's death, some members of his personal household and his military network, may have transferred their allegiance to Edmund. In the event of Edmund's premature demise, some of his military associates may have offered their services to Cnut and thrived under the Danish regime. Athelstan appears to have been especially associated with several religious communities but the origins of those connections and their longevity are unknown. Edmund's relationship with them may have been limited to his duties as the executor of his brother's will.

It is apparent that there are broad similarities but also significant differences between the households of late Anglo-Saxon princes and kings but there is still much work to be done regarding the æthelings Athelstan and Edmund. In the field of networks and associations more generally, further research remains to be conducted on kingly households, the retinues of richer thegns and a subject that has not been discussed here, ecclesiastical entourages.

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Joan de Valence and Her Household: Domesticity, Management, and Organization in Transition from Wife to Widow

Linda E. Mitchell

It has often been said that the structure of royal administration in the Middle Ages came directly out of the structure of the royal household. This is true of the early medieval period – especially the development of imperial administration in the Carolingian era – as well as of the central and later Middle Ages. The officers of the royal household, such as the *praepositus*, *camerarius*, *cancellarius*, *pincerna*, and *marescallus* became the steward, chamberlain, chancellor, butler, and marshal who formed the basis of royal military, fiscal, and judicial administration. The records of such offices, at first only poorly maintained, became more elaborate as the administration developed into professionalized offices and departments and formed the basis of what became in English royal administration the records of Wardrobe, Exchequer, Remembrancer, Chancery, and Justiciary.

The transformation from mobile semi-professional household to stationary, thoroughly professional administration in England and its subject territories of Wales and Ireland occurred over the course of several hundred years, with the thirteenth century providing the transition point between the earlier more ad hoc system and the later bureaucracy housed permanently in the many buildings that comprised Westminster Palace.¹ A similar development occurred in non-royal elite households, as members of the magnate class – whether associated by blood with the royal family or not – began to appreciate the utility of maintaining their own domestic administrations and archives as their household organization became more elaborate and the obligations of household members more complex. This development seems to have begun perhaps as early as the 1150s, when the Angevin court succeeded that of King Stephen and embarked on a significant expansion of the royal administration, but datable

¹ The foundational study for these developments is Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd edition (Chichester, 2013).

evidence for elite household administration begins to appear only in the thirteenth century.²

The most basic kinds of medieval English household accounts, and the ones that appear earliest, are referred to as “diet rolls” or “day-book rolls”: the daily tally of food and drink consumed by the household. These accounts took on particular characteristics from quite early in their evolution, ones based largely on the royal administration’s “Pipe” rolls, and they deviated but little as the thirteenth century progressed.³ The earliest adopters of these records were largely monastic and episcopal households, whose administrations remained separate from the daily operations of cloister and cathedral. It is also apparent that proximity to the royal household might have encouraged the establishment of daily accounts among the lay nobility, as many of the earliest of such extant records derived from the households of royal intimates and relatives: Eleanor of Brittany, imprisoned cousin of King John; Eleanor de Montfort, sister of King Henry III and countess of Leicester; Joan de Valence, sister-in-law of King Henry III and *suo jure* countess of Pembroke.

The scope and format for the earliest extant household records has been described by Kate Mertes as “primitive” and “aboriginal”: little more than catalogues of comestibles consumed and pantries restocked.⁴ By the mid-thirteenth century, other information begins to appear, such as activities in which the household membership engaged, travel preparations, repairs and renovations ordered, and bits of news or information about the comings and goings of the family and the larger *familia*. A significant evolution occurred during the fourteenth century, when the day-book household rolls became far more detailed and complex records of the activities and consumption of the noble

2 A fragment of a non-royal daily account roll dated to the later twelfth century survives as The National Archives, Exchequer, King’s Remembrancer, Accounts Various [hereafter TNA E101/...] E101/361/1 but its provenance and exact date of creation have not been established. The account could belong to the London household of the Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, but there are no easily identifiable elements in the account to determine the owner of the roll. See *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, ed. Christopher M. Woolgar (Oxford, 1992), part 1, p. 107.

3 English administrative records were often comprised of parchment sheets sewn into vertical scrolls, which were then rolled up for storage. The earliest of these came to be known as the Pipe Rolls because of their resemblance to clay water pipes. By the end of the twelfth century even records not maintained on scrolls – those, for example, that were collected and sewn together at the top of the membranes, such as transcripts of pleas – were nonetheless referred to as “rolls.”

4 Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988), p. 82.

household. This evolution can be seen beginning with the extensive records of Countess of Ulster, Elizabeth de Burgh, whose extant accounts, produced between 1325 and 1341, comprise some forty percent of all of the surviving medieval account rolls in England.⁵ The fundamental character of household accounts remained the same, but by the late fourteenth century, it was considered necessary to include a great deal more information.

The daily records of household expenses were not the only documents preserving the fiscal concerns of elite families. Other records are somewhat rarer, but prove useful in providing important information often neglected in the day-books, such as household personnel who were not engaged in daily fiscal activity. Some documents, which appear in the form of end-of-term or end-of-year receipts, catalogue the non-perishable expenses of the household, such as the purchase of cloth for livery, the transactions between the lord or lady and his or her associates – sometimes referred to as *garcons*⁶ or *dames* – and the cost of materials to effect repairs and advance construction. Although not as detailed as the daily accounts, such receipts are useful in supplementing other household records in giving a broader look at the fiscal and physical life of the household.

The ways in which historians of medieval England have utilized elite household records have also varied over the years. In some early discussions of the connections between fiscal records and noble affinities, household accounts factored significantly. In an early article comparing the households of Earl Henry de Lacy of Lincoln and his son-in-law Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, J.F. Baldwin presented the elite household as comparable to – indeed, even in competition with – the royal household and administration.⁷ Margaret Wade Labarge made use of the account rolls of Eleanor de Montfort's household in 1265 to reconstruct the countess's itinerary and how it coincided with the triumphs and travails of her husband, the rebel Earl of Leicester, Simon de Montfort.⁸ Others have used account rolls to reconstruct the structure and systems of elite households, both to compare to the royal household and to

5 The most recent edition of a large number of these records is *Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (1295-1360): Household and Other Records*, ed. Jennifer Ward (Suffolk, 2014).

6 *Garcons* is often translated as "groom" but the term – especially in early Latin day-books – usually refers to any male attendant or servant without a specific title.

7 John F. Baldwin, "The Household Administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster," *The English Historical Review* 42:166 (1927): 180-200.

8 Margaret Wade Labarge, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (Totowa, NJ, 1980 [1965]).

present them as significant cultural phenomena in their own right.⁹ The more extensive records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provide fodder for more detailed discussions, especially of households of magnates such as John of Gaunt, whose wealth and influence rivaled that of the Crown itself.¹⁰ Historians who investigate the prevalence of fees as to use and the endowment of livery – the elements of what some have called “bastard” feudalism – can trace some of these transactions through account records, as well as deeds, charters, indentures, and other documents of private law.¹¹

It might be possible to compare elite households by investigating their account records, but such a comparison could also quickly go awry. The spotty survival of such records, with each family having at most only a few years’ worth of extant documents, makes it impossible to compare households in similar years or under similar circumstances. The level of complexity and detail in a particular record might be determined not by the era in which it was written, but by the energy of the steward or clerk maintaining the accounts. Indeed, the existing household records suggest that the elite household was a study in contrasts: each household’s culture was determined by its head, rather than by any conventional notion of what constituted a proper administration.

As a formative era in the development of records relating to the elite household in the British Isles, the thirteenth century becomes the starting point for any discussion of the composition and preservation of the noble household.¹² The fact that relatively few examples of such records survive for the century also makes it a more concise starting point, as the documents themselves are fairly similar in content and do not demonstrate the wider range of styles and organization that later sources enjoy. A typical example of a thirteenth-century elite household is that of Joan de Valence, countess of Pembroke and lady of Wexford.¹³ As heir to one-fifth of the vast fortune of her grandparents,

9 Notably, the work of Mertes, Woolgar, and that of W. Mark Ormrod, especially “The Royal Nursery: a Household for the Children of Edward III” *English Historical Review* 120:486 (2005): 398–415. Caroline Dunn, in her article in this volume, uses similar methodologies to reconstruct the ladies and damsels who served Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II.

10 For example, Simon Walker made use of the Lancaster account rolls in researching his book, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361–1399* (Oxford, 1990).

11 See for example, Michael Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London, 1995).

12 See for example, Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, in which he catalogues the development of written documentation and identifies the thirteenth century as fundamental in this development.

13 My study of Joan de Valence developed from a conference paper at the North American Conference of British Studies to an article: “Joan de Valence: A Lady of Substance” in eds Charlotte Newman Goldy and Amy Livingstone, *Writing Medieval Women’s Lives* (New

William and Isabella Marshal, Joan was one of the wealthiest – if not the wealthiest – female magnates in the century. Her fortune, however, even when combined with that of her husband, William de Valence, half-brother of King Henry III, placed them more or less in the middle of the magnate class. Their annual income could not compete with that of Joan's cousin and fellow co-heir, Richard de Clare earl of Gloucester and Hertford, or of Richard's son Earl Gilbert de Clare, who were considered the wealthiest non-royals in the British Isles.¹⁴ When Joan was widowed in 1296, therefore, her household, although perhaps diminished in comparison to that maintained while William was alive, must have been a fairly typical size for an elite household. Kate Mertes estimates that the Valence household supported about twenty-six people,¹⁵ but this estimate, based on food consumed, does not count servants and staff who were itinerant, or who remained fixed at the properties Joan controlled in her own right and did not travel with her. That number also does not take into account visitors, whose stays could be lengthy.

Joan de Valence's household day-book has survived for the administrative years of 1295-1297, beginning on Michaelmas 1295 (September 29), the beginning of the English chancery calendar, and ending on the eve, or "vigil" of Michaelmas (September 28) 1297.¹⁶ In addition, a series of receipts from the years 1300 and 1302 have survived, which were submitted by Joan de Valence's steward, Ralph de Sutton, for compensation of monies expended for the household.¹⁷ The two series of documents, together with records of litigation, royal

York, 2012), pp. 193-208; and then to a biography: *Joan de Valence: The Life and Influence of a Thirteenth-Century Noblewoman* (New York, 2016). Most of the material included in this essay is derived from the research for the biography and I thank Charlotte Goldy and Amy Livingstone, as well as Bonnie Wheeler, series editor of Palgrave Macmillan's "The New Middle Ages" series, for giving me the opportunity to work through multiple iterations of analysis of Joan's household accounts. I have, alas, made some errors in my analysis – specifically some dates and other details in the first essay published. These are corrected in the biography.

- 14 See Michael Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965) for statistics regarding the Clares' annual income throughout the thirteenth century.
- 15 Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, Appendix A, p. 213. Mertes mis-dates the rolls.
- 16 TNA E101/505/25-27. The records comprise three rolls, the first Michaelmas 1295-the vigil of Michaelmas 1296; the second Michaelmas 1296-summer 1297; and the third a continuation of the second roll (separated at an unknown date) to the vigil of Michaelmas 1297.
- 17 The records from 1300 are TNA, Exchequer Memoranda E 40/11552-11558 (abstracted in *Calendar of Ancient Deeds*); those from 1302 are The British Library, Harley Charters 57 B.42, 57 B.43, 57 B.44, 57 B.45, 57 B.46, 57 B.47. These are not catalogued properly under the main index of Harley Charters but do appear as Joan de Valence's receipts in *Catalogue of*

and comital letters, and other documents, make it possible to imagine the daily running of Joan's household from just before the death of her husband in 1296 to a few years before her own death in 1307. Moreover, it is possible to suggest a comparison between Joan's household and that of a few of her contemporaries, although the surviving documents are not entirely parallel to hers.

Joan's Household and Her Account Rolls: A Model for the Thirteenth Century?

The first thing that strikes the reader of Joan de Valence's household records is the relative austerity of her household, even before the death of her husband. At the time of the beginning of the first account roll, William was in Wales on royal business and headed to France, with a brief stopover to spend time with his family. Joan was thus charged with maintaining not only her household but the larger business of overseeing their considerable estates – most of them stemming from Joan's own inheritance – and corresponding with William while he was away or abroad. Joan's associates named in the accounts were relatively few, but they included the young Edward Burnell, who was probably a ward in her household, and her daughter-in-law, Beatrice de Clermont-Nesle.¹⁸ Joan's estate managers included Ralph de Sutton, who was a longstanding member of the household, and Roger Bluet (or Bloet), who was one of the sons of the Bluets of Raglan Castle, sub-feoffees of Joan's lordship.¹⁹ Master Egidius de Barynton, Joan's chaplain, often acted as one of her men of business. Joan also employed attorneys in both England and Ireland: these usually came from her own personal household.²⁰ Although she never visited her Irish estates, her estate officials seem to have come from her English and Welsh lands and could be considered part of her household. Others named in the accounts were often

Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, ed. Walter de G. Birch, 6 vols. (London, 1894), vol. 3, pp. 611-12.

18 Edward Burnell's uncle (or grandfather) was Bishop Robert Burnell. These and other associates appear prominently throughout the day-books. See E 101/505/25-27. Beatrice married Aymer de Valence shortly before his father's death and she lived in Joan's household for several years before Aymer could attain a permanent residence for them. See Mitchell, *Joan de Valence*.

19 Roger Bluet's brother, Ralph, also served in Joan's household, as evidenced by the account rolls.

20 Such as Adam de la Roche, aka "de Rupe" whose brother, Thomas de la Roche, lord of Roch Castle, Pembrokeshire, was a subfeoffee of Joan's. See Mitchell, *Joan de Valence*, esp. pp. 79 et passim.

called by their position: Roger the Tailor (Cissor), William the Baker, Milo the Clerk, Robert of the Wardrobe, and so on. Still others are referred to merely as “boys,” *garçons* (in French, although the accounts are written entirely in Latin) or as “attendants” or “ministers,” especially if they were being sent to deliver correspondence or engage in business for the household or their lady. Joan’s “damsels” are not named in the day-books, but the receipts from a few years later identify only four women, who might not have served simultaneously. These were Lady Gonnore Symeon, Lady Clarice de Stakepool, Clarice de Sackville (or Saukevytle), and Eleanor de Grandeville.²¹ Thus, Joan’s retinue was small, but chosen with apparent care from her own estates. Even while William was alive, it is entirely possible – indeed, probable – that Joan chose her own household staff, as they remained in her employ long after she became widowed.²²

Joan’s permanent residents were frequently supplemented, however, by visitors, especially neighbors, family friends, and business associates, as well as her adult children and other relatives. She entertained the local aristocracy and gentry when she was resident in one of her manors or castles, often receiving visits from the women in those families. This social activity expanded considerably after Joan was widowed, but its evidence before William’s death suggests that Joan regularly played host to such company.

The austerity of Joan’s household appears not only in the size of her staff, but also in the shape of her larder, especially when her husband, William, and her son, Aymer, were not resident and there were no other visitors. The daily tally of food and drink records a variety of pottages, small amounts of meat, more generous amounts of fish and eels, and modest quantities of beer and wine. When the men were home, Joan’s kitchen produced a great deal more meat than when she and Beatrice were the primary residents. The limited diet she and her daughter-in-law enjoyed might have been thriftiness – certainly evidence from Joan’s widowhood suggests that she was not particularly extravagant in her own personal habits – but it might also have been personal preference: Joan, at least on the basis of the few years of her accounts, seemed

21 See E 40/11556 for specific references to gifts to Joan’s damsels. For an interesting comparison, see Dunn’s article in this volume.

22 Joan de Valence’s household demonstrates a perhaps striking contrast to the “disordered” household of the fifteenth-century Duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor Cobham, especially as discussed by Sally Fisher in this volume. In addition, there are interesting parallels between this thirteenth-century elite “English” household and the fourteenth-century royal and noble households in Aragon discussed by Alana Lord in this volume.

inclined more to fish than to meat, as well as being more abstemious in her own diet. In addition, Joan routinely fed seven to ten paupers daily.

The main order of business outlined in the account rolls was correspondence. Joan's scriptorium was kept very busy, with sometimes as many as a dozen letters being sent daily, and other correspondence being received. It is not clear whether Joan dictated all the letters to her assistants, or if she gave them a certain amount of freedom to respond as needed. Most frequently, though, the day's entry identifies "letters of my lady" as being sent to various people, from her husband to the king, which suggests that Joan had a personal hand in creating the missives.

Another characteristic of Joan's household, like other elite households, was its itinerant nature. Joan was on the move with great frequency, which usually necessitated hiring additional staff for the journey, engaging blacksmiths and carpenters to repair carriages and carts and to shoe horses, and informing the skeleton staff residing at each locale of their impending arrival. Even in this flurry of activity, however, Joan seems to have maintained a lean household, as there are few indications that she travelled with a large entourage – or even with any entourage – when moving from one estate to the next. The one exception to this general observation occurred when Joan travelled from Goodrich to London to observe the anniversary obsequies for her husband in May 1297. On that journey she was accompanied by a retinue of family members, attendants, and feoffees.²³

In the eight months between the beginning of the first account roll and William's death in May 1296, William was resident for only brief periods of time. Two of those periods, about four weeks in late autumn 1295 and another month, from mid-March to mid-April 1296, went entirely unrecorded in Joan's household day-book, which suggests that William's assistants may have maintained that record themselves.²⁴ His penultimate trip home coincided with Holy Week and Easter. In both circumstances, although the household expenses are not always recorded during William's stay, when he made ready to depart again to France or Wales, Joan's steward picked up the maintenance of the roll and remarked on his lord's preparations and travel.

The simplicity of the day-book of Joan de Valence's household does not necessarily mean that she maintained an equally simple domicile, but elements in the accounts do suggest that Joan's management style was modest and thrifty.

²³ See Mitchell, *Joan de Valence*, pp. 117-19; E 101/505/26 mm. 21-22.

²⁴ There is no evidence of missing membranes in the extant roll; this suggests that the couple maintained two separate household day-books, one which covered William's expenses and one covering Joan's.

The victuals consumed by the household were adequate, but not extravagant, even when visitors sat at her table. The missing weeks may have been those in which the *familia* indulged itself on a greater scale, but it is unlikely that Joan's kitchens produced the magnificent feasts enjoyed by Lady Elizabeth de Burgh and her guests only a few decades later.²⁵ Indeed, the Christmas season in her household passed almost unremarked: perhaps because of the imminent departure of both William (to France) and Aymer (possibly to France or to Scotland), Joan and her daughter-in-law Beatrice preferred to maintain a deliberately modest demeanor before the neighborhood.

The only exceptions to this presentation of simplicity and austerity lay in the expenses required to maintain Joan's chancery and in the celebration of the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, on 2 February, which is also known in England as Candlemas.²⁶ Indeed, in both years of Joan's day-books that included February (1296 and 1297), the clerk of the roll makes particular note of the feast, so it must have been one that Joan regularly celebrated or marked out. In 1296, with William having just departed for the Continent, Joan celebrated the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary with a small gathering at Sutton Valence, Kent. Among the invitees were the Prior of Leeds (Kent) and the Minister of Medyngton (possibly Maddington, Wiltshire) "and many others" according to the day-book account.²⁷ This seems to have been a somewhat more contemplative celebration than would occur in later years, as no laypeople are listed as attending the feast, and the food prepared for the feast was relatively simple, including both "*gros*" and "good" bacon, pottage, mutton, and the usual servings of bread, wine, and beer. Joan also served twelve paupers at table, which was more than her usual seven or so daily meals for the poor.

By far the most significant daily expense in Joan's household seems to have been the maintenance of her chancery. The cost of candles, wax for sealing, parchment, and travel expenses for couriers both coming to Joan (who required a gratuity upon delivery of their letters) and sent by her comprised as much as half of the household's regular expenses. Joan, whose taste in food and

25 This is discussed in Frances A. Underhill, *For Her Good Estate: The Life of Elizabeth de Burgh* (New York, 1999). The accounts in the Ward edition detail an extravagant household.

26 This was an important holiday for women in general and mothers in particular, as it celebrated the ending of the traditional 40 days of isolation new mothers endured before being able to return to society. In medieval England, this return (which did not involve anything resembling a traditional Jewish *mikvah*, or ritual bath) was celebrated by what was known as a "churching": a procession of women led the new mother to the church, where a special liturgy was sung and she was blessed.

27 E101/505/25 m. 4.

clothing might have been relatively undistinguished, was a stickler about her tools of business, which included the oil lamps in her chambers and those of her daughter-in-law Beatrice which were refilled weekly every Saturday.

William's death – he was wounded on campaign in France and died at Joan's manor of Brabourne, Kent, shortly afterwards – threw the entire household into a frenzy. Joan, who like her husband was about sixty-five or sixty-six years old at the time, was co-executor of William's testament and her household was the center of activity in the process of probating the will, paying William's debts, and distributing bequests. For the six months or so between William's death and the beginning of the Advent season, Joan's regular routine, probably maintained for years, was entirely disrupted. Nevertheless, she seems to have struggled to sustain an air of normalcy – perhaps hard-fought – within the household and her *familia*: Edward Burnell's shoes and stockings were still regularly replaced and the oil lamps in her chambers and those of Lady Beatrice were still filled every Saturday. Joan hovered around London for the months immediately following William's death, making the perhaps unusual move to settle in with her widowed daughter, Agnes de Valence, in her estate of Hertfordingbury rather than remain in Kent at what would become one of her preferred residences of Sutton. This move might have been materially beneficial for Agnes as well, since Joan's day-books account for all the food and maintenance of the household while she remained there.²⁸

Once the immediate legal issues of William's testament, the location of his tomb, and the distribution of lands to their heirs (Joan herself and her son Aymer were the principle heirs, with her daughters as collateral heirs²⁹) and the settlement of Joan's dower were completed, Joan and her household removed themselves from the eastern part of England and travelled by stages to her favorite residence, Goodrich Castle in Herefordshire. It is possible to

28 Agnes had extensive dower and jointure properties in Ireland and some in Scotland as a result of her first two marriages, but the situation in Ireland by 1296 was becoming problematic: her late husband's cousin, John fitzThomas, was already trying to invade her lands in county Kildare. Agnes's third marriage, to John d'Avesnes, produced children, but introduced another set of problems: she became embroiled in a lengthy and expensive campaign to support her sons' rights to their father's lands in Hainault. Thus, having her mother set up her household in Hertfordingbury might have benefited Agnes financially at a time when her cash flow was diminished. See Mitchell, *Joan de Valence*, pp. 48 et passim; and Cormac Ó Cleirigh, "The Absentee Landlady and the Sturdy Robbers," in eds Christine E. Meek and Katharine Simms, *"The Fragility of Her Sex?" Medieval Irish Women in their European Context* (Dublin, 1996), pp. 101-18.

29 It is not possible to determine all of the bequests made by William, or, indeed, the extent of his debts, as his will is not extant and was very probably nuncupative.

establish the most complete reconstruction of Joan's household and domestic arrangements during her months at Goodrich, as this is where she most frequently remained for long periods of time and where it seems that she had the most complete levels of staffing. In addition, Goodrich's relative proximity to lands held by Joan's Marshal co-heirs, as well as her son-in-law (and cousin) John de Hastings and family friend Thomas de Berkeley, and important vassals such as the Bluets of Raglan and the Roches of Roch Castle, facilitated the social culture of Joan's household. Visitors were frequent and ranged from the prioress of Aconbury Priory to elite friends and relations, such as Countess of Gloucester Joan of Acre and her son Earl Gilbert de Clare, as well as Joan's man of business and fellow executor, the aptly-named Roger de Inkpenne.

The Goodrich household accommodated a wider range of personnel than Joan's smaller residences, such as Sutton in Kent, Moreton in Gloucestershire, or her dower estates at Swindon – three of her more frequent residences. Its proximity to the Forest of Dean, and the generosity of King Edward I in allowing Joan to procure wood from the forest, along with Joan's own woods near the castle, resulted in the employment of a raft of charcoal burners who produced fuel on a weekly basis, probably in preparation for the festive season from Christmas to Candlemas. In addition, Joan engaged workmen from the surrounding towns and villages to repair carts, shoe horses, and effect household repairs; she also employed bakers locally who came to the castle to bake weekly.

Joan and William had spent many years and significant expense expanding and modernizing Goodrich and the result was a very comfortable and up-to-date residence. The domestic arrangements included large fireplaces, convenient garderobes (that is, latrines), and running water in the solar, where a basin and tap were set into the wall that pulled water directly from the well for the use of the women working in the solar range. The castle's chapel was erected on the ground floor, with easy access from the domestic apartments. Although not large – and certainly much smaller than the showplace that Pembroke Castle was destined to become during the tenure of Joan's son Aymer – Goodrich was perfectly situated to be a safe and comfortable residence for the aging countess and her *familia*.

Goodrich lies close to the Severn estuary, which provided the household with far greater variety in proteins than Joan's more landlocked properties, especially as she did not eat much meat. A tremendous range of fish and seafood appeared at her table, with eels and herring, procured from Bristol, Gloucester, Chepstow, and Monmouth, being among the more popular and ubiquitous dishes, especially when Aymer was in residence. During Joan's stay at Goodrich, several hunting parties visited, including a large one led by the

Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, Joan of Acre, in the winter of 1297.³⁰ Joan de Valence, whose husband was a famously (or, perhaps, infamously) avid hunter, seems to have shared his interest in this activity, as she maintained a large aviary and made sure that her children's and visitors' hawks were well trained and housed and that there was easy access to hunting around the Forest of Dean. Even so, there is little evidence that venison played a role in the household's diet, so much of the hunting was probably for small game and birds.

The year following William's death is notable in the household records for the events at which Joan entertained guests. Her celebration of Candlemas in 1297 was considerably more elaborate than in 1296; this might have signaled a transition in her mourning state, or it could have been that, released from the need to account for her activities to a husband, Joan indulged herself a little by having all of her female friends and relatives around her to celebrate the Feast of the Purification. These included Lady Bluet of Raglan, Lady Bicknor, Joan's particular friend, Katherine de Geneville the prioress of Aconbury,³¹ and, according to the roll, "many others."³² The day after the Feast, Joan was joined by members of the Clare family, her cousin Earl Gilbert de Clare (a youth of about eight years old) and his mother, Countess Joan of Acre, who may have been Joan's god-daughter.³³ The house party remained at Goodrich for about a week, mostly engaged in hunting in the local countryside.

30 E101/505/26 mm. 14-15.

31 Katherine de Geneville was the daughter of Matilda de Lacy and Geoffrey de Geneville, who were the lady and lord of Trim in Ireland and Ewyas Lacy in Wales. The Lacys of Ewyas were long-standing associates of the Marshals in both the March and Ireland. Aconbury was founded by Margery de Braose, widow of Walter de Lacy of Ewyas and Meath, with money donated by King John in contrition for his murder of her mother and brother – the king starved them to death. See Linda E. Mitchell, *Baronial Dowagers of the Thirteenth-Century Welsh Marches*, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1991, pp. 204-205. The grant is outlined in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols in 8 (London 1817-1830), vol. 6.1, pp. 489-90. For the relationship between Katherine de Geneville and Joan de Valence, see Mitchell, *Joan de Valence*, pp. 55 *et passim*.

32 E101/505/26 m. 14.

33 E101/505/26 mm. 14-15. It is not only the connection of the two countess's names that suggests the elder Joan might have been the younger's godmother. Joan of Acre was born in the Holy Land while her parents were on Crusade and William de Valence was one of the most prominent members of Lord Edward's military company. Joan de Valence was also very close to the children of Henry III, in particular Edward and his wife, Eleanor of Castile, and it would not be unusual for her to stand as godparent for their daughter. Moreover, Countess Joan of Acre visited Joan de Valence several times in the brief period that

Easter in 1297 was also celebrated with considerably more fanfare than the previous year. Indeed, the relative lateness of the Paschal feast put tremendous pressure on Joan's household in preparing for the journey from Goodrich to London to commemorate the one-year anniversary of William's death and the departure and travel was unusually rushed. Even so, Joan was accompanied to London by a substantial retinue, which included both tenants and feoffees, as well as members of her family. Once in London, Joan entertained a multitude to honor the anniversary of William's death and probably the unveiling of his tomb, which she saw for the first time: entries in the day-books suggest that she paid for the structure to be erected in May 1297.³⁴ After this commemoration, Joan seems to have passed into life as a dowager and countess with more independence and ease. She entertained her estate officials and local tenants in high style in Swindon, probably while also holding court.³⁵ Her largest celebration, however, was at Moreton, where she presided over the knighting of one of her vassals, John de Tany, and hosted a large house-party of guests who came to witness the ritual.³⁶ By the eve of Michaelmas, however, unlike the previous year, Joan was back at Goodrich, perhaps settled in for a longer stay.

The character of Joan's household was clearly influenced by the character of its head: this is reflected in changes made after William's death.³⁷ Joan was a frugal manager before her husband's death, but once widowed, she made changes to her regular routine that may have reflected more personal choices and patterns of behavior. The number of paupers fed at her table nearly tripled, from seven most weekdays to twenty, with many more on special occasions and Sundays. Joan also was generous with gratuities, providing alms to itinerant holy brothers, tips to servants delivering goods or providing services, and gifts to messengers presenting news of important events, such as the servant of John and Isabelle de Hastings who delivered the news of the birth of Joan's granddaughter in September 1297.³⁸ Later receipts record generous gifts

her household accounts are extant and left her son, Earl Gilbert, with Joan at Goodrich for a time; this suggests a very intimate relationship.

34 E101/505/26 mm. 23-24. An entry in the account roll dated 19 September 1296 mentions payment for the transport of stone for William's tomb to Westminster Abbey. E101/505/25 m. 21.

35 E101/505/26 m. 21.

36 E 101/505/27 m. 1. John de Tany eventually assumed the position of Joan's attorney-general in Ireland.

37 The same could be said, really, for any of the households discussed in this volume, as is evidenced by the dramatic differences between those of King Pere of Aragon and his son, Prince Joan, described by Lord.

38 E 101/505/27, m. 5.

to Joan's damsels. Joan was punctual in providing livery for her household staff³⁹ and she seems to have been equally punctual in paying bills: although William de Valence was significantly in debt at the time of his death, there are no indications that Joan was similarly indebted, so not only must she have worked closely with the other co-executors to clear her late husband's debts, but she must have taken pains not to incur further debts herself.

There are perhaps striking differences between Joan's household, possibly even before William's death, and the "disordered" woman-centered household described by Sally Fisher in her article on Eleanor Cobham for this volume. The extravagance of the Gloucester household at Greenwich might have been a product not only of the era, which required a far greater level of public display than elite households in the thirteenth century, but also of the personality of its heads, the duke and duchess. Although Joan was almost always in charge of the household, given her husband's extensive obligations to the king, her managerial style seems to have enhanced the orderliness of her domestic spaces and their inhabitants, rather than the opposite.

Speculating on a Day at Goodrich Castle, Summer 1298

It is possible to imagine a day in the life of Joan de Valence by utilizing the information available in her day-books and supplementing this with other data derived from other kinds of sources. If the imagined day were in the summer, it is likely that it would have begun quite early by modern standards: at Midsummer, south-central England and the Welsh March enjoy more than eighteen hours of daylight, and the sun rises at about 4:00 a.m. Joan's morning ablutions and her daily mass were both easily facilitated by the modern conveniences of the running tap and basin in her solar and the lovely little chapel just a few steps outside the door. The day-books frequently mention visitors who stayed overnight leaving "after breakfast" in the morning, so Joan must have incorporated a substantial breaking of the night's fast into her day on a regular basis. In addition to the usual domestic duties of overseeing food preparation, monitoring household maintenance, and seeing to the care of her ward, visitors, and family, Joan would have spent considerable time in her

39 The one exception was a conflict over livery she had with Adam de la Roche, one of her stewards, in Ireland, whose payment of 40s. for livery was probably supposed to be supplied out of profits on the estate. Profits were not forthcoming, so Joan deliberately delayed sending him his livery. See E101/505/29 in *The Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377*, eds H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles (Dublin, 1963), pp. 233-36.

scriptorium with her steward, chaplain, and probably her closest associate, Roger de Inkepenne. A typical day's output of letters could include missives dispatched to the king, Aymer, Joan's attorneys in Ireland, and managers of her other properties. It also included orders to repair wheels, shoe horses, gather kindling for heating the charcoal burners, and procure victuals not locally produced, such as the eels and herring that were ubiquitous at her table. Further orders to London and Bristol to take delivery of casks of wine, to purchase cloth, shoes, and stockings, and to deliver letters to sundry persons occupied a substantial portion of her day.

Joan seems to have eaten her main meal at midday. The day-books record this meal in detail; a typical day would include eels; *gros* meat (i.e. fatback pork); two different kinds of pottage, one plain and one made with fish; and usually at least one or two different kinds of fish. In addition, bread, beer, and wine accompanied the meal. Joan also typically hosted around twenty paupers at this meal as well as visitors to the castle, such as her son Aymer and Roger de Inkepenne, itinerant friars, the prioress of Aconbury, and one or more of her daughters and grandchildren.

Joan's solar wing had wide glassed-in windows on the second floor, all of which faced west and/or west-northwest. Afternoons, following her main meal, were probably spent there, enjoying the best of the light. In the solar would have been looms, distaffs and other spinning equipment, and the regular paraphernalia of the domestic range. Joan's damsels would have been engaged there in sewing, mending, and more decorative needlework. There would have been ample time in the long summer afternoons to discuss the day's correspondence, news of the world, and plans for the coming weeks. Vespers probably marked the end of Joan's day, with a small evening meal eaten by the household before everyone retired for the night. Given that Joan's oil lamps were refilled weekly, she might have worked long after sundown, but the solar was designed to catch the best of the sun's rays in summer's late afternoons, so perhaps in that season she was able to complete her tasks without resorting to artificial illumination.

Joan would have been surrounded by people, male and female, and offered little by way of privacy. Her damsels would have been in constant attendance, and she would also have been in almost constant contact with her estate officials, her chaplain, and male friends such as Thomas de Berkeley, John de Tany, and Thomas de la Roche, as well as associates and family members, such as Aymer, Roger de Inkepenne, and her son-in-law John de Hastings. The notion of a lady locked up in a tower, defended from the male gaze, is not the life that Joan de Valence led. Her household staff was largely male and ranged in status from fellow elites to local peasants. Her political and business associates were

all male.⁴⁰ The Candlemas celebrations, and the extended stays of her friend Prioress Katherine de Geneville, as well as her daughters and daughter-in-law, were opportunities for Joan to spend time with other women, but even outside those circumstances, Joan's household was decidedly gender mixed because of the ubiquity of her ladies and the frequency of short visits from female neighbors, family, and friends. Thus, in contrast to traditional images of women in castles as being hidden away and isolated, it is possible to envision the residents of and visitors to Goodrich Castle – male and female – as integrated and interactive: another instance of the head dictating the culture of the household.

Ordinary or Extraordinary? A View of Joan de Valence's Household and Some Conclusions

How typical was Joan de Valence's household? This is a difficult question to answer, in part because of the absence of sufficient numbers of records to make a comparison and in part because of the lacunae in the extant records. For example, it is quite difficult to establish firm numbers of permanent residents, not just the *familia* but also servants, men at arms, and attendants, because only those involved in the daily activities of the chancery are mentioned in most account rolls. It is possible to make some speculative comparisons on the basis of two roughly contemporary day-books, one of Countess Eleanor de Montfort dating to 1265 and one of Earl Henry de Lacy dating to 1299. Neither document is entirely parallel to Joan's records. Eleanor de Montfort was in a precarious and dangerous position while her husband, Earl Simon, was fighting against the royalists in the months between the battles of Lewes and Evesham, and her household must have been quite lean and spare in order to facilitate rapid travel as the fortunes of the Montfort adherents waxed and waned. Henry de Lacy's surviving account records cover the time when he was travelling to France on a royal mission in part to finalize the marriage of Prince Edward of Caernarvon (the future King Edward II) and Princess Isabella of France in 1299.⁴¹ As a royal diplomat, Henry's entourage would have been far grander than anything that either Joan de Valence or Eleanor de Montfort enjoyed, and this is also reflected in the supplies and food served. Nevertheless,

40 This is also seen in royal households, as evidenced by Dunn's study of the household of Queen Isabella and the Gloucester household described by Fisher, both in this volume.

41 *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, ed. Woolgar, vol. 1, pp. 163-70.

in structure, the three sets of day-books resemble each other and it is possible to make at least basic comparisons.

The organization of the three sets of accounts is quite similar, although there are minor differences in design. Eleanor de Montfort's roll, for example, keeps a running tally of non-food expenses on the dorse of the roll, while Joan de Valence's chancery included all expenses for each day on the recto side.⁴² Henry de Lacy's account record is a single membrane with entries on both the recto and dorse sides, while Joan de Valence's is written only on the recto side and the membranes are sewn together as a continuous roll for each chancery year.⁴³ The contents of each day-book are quite similar, however, with only the most important people listed and a tally of food and drink consumed. Other expenses appear as well, such as carriage fees, the purchase of goods, and travel expenses, especially for delivering letters and other services.

Joan de Valence and Eleanor de Montfort shared, sequentially, a nurse, Cecilia de Sanford, and it is possible that they also shared a household when Joan was a young child and Eleanor the newly-widowed dowager Countess of Pembroke.⁴⁴ It could be that the style of Joan's account roll was adapted from one she had seen in use in Countess Eleanor's household, but there are enough differences between the 1265 document and Joan's later records to see the evolutionary development of the day-book in the thirty years between them. Joan's account entries are tallied completely for each day, with foodstuffs and meals listed first, followed by other expenses and payments. In addition, there are occasional marginal entries and asides inserted by the scribes to identify particular days or events, such as the forty-day and one-year anniversaries of William de Valence's death and the knighting of John de Tany. Thus, although still exceptionally concise, Joan de Valence's account roll is more detailed than Eleanor de Montfort's and operates not merely as a daily tally but also as a kind of household memory bank. In contrast, Henry de Lacy's account for his two-week journey from Dover to Montreaux is even more concise, in similar fashion

42 See Labarge's translation of one membrane of the thirteen-membrane roll. *A Baronial Household*, pp. 194-201. The complete roll is transcribed in *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. H.T. Turner (London, 1841), pp. 3-85.

43 As mentioned above, the roll for Michaelmas 1296-vigil of Michaelmas 1297 was separated into two rolls at some time in the past and they have been cataloged as two different documents: E101/505/26 and /27.

44 Eleanor married, at age nine, William Marshal the Younger, and she brought her nurse with her to her new household. After William's death in 1231 Eleanor – at the urging of Lady Cecilia – took a vow of chastity, which she broke in spectacular fashion when she eloped with Simon de Montfort in 1238.

to the Montfort roll, with the comestibles tally separated from other expenses, which are listed very briefly at the end of each week.

There are three sets of accounts, but in none of them is it possible to gain an accurate picture of the size of the household and its contents. Joan de Valence's records come closer, in that they provide better information about the comings and goings of Joan's family members, servants, and business associates, but the brevity of the system works against a more concrete understanding of how the household actually worked. Nevertheless, it is possible to make some tentative conclusions based on these records.

By the end of the thirteenth century, noble households, whether headed by men or by women, had to accommodate two contradictory requirements: luxury and public display, and ease of mobility. Joan de Valence's records suggest that she was very conscious of the need to present herself as both grand lady and competent lord. In both her public displays of lordship and her generosity to messengers, itinerant friars, and paupers, Joan was performing roles that were essential to maintaining her authority in her household and also in the larger social and political milieus. As much as she endeavored to uphold her social position by such public display, however, behind the door of her personal chambers Joan might have eschewed more elaborate luxuries, although she did not stint on the enhancement of her own comfort and that of other residents: abundant lamp oil and candles; shoes, stockings, and clothing regularly replaced, repaired, and cleaned; comfortable surroundings.⁴⁵ Without an inventory of her household goods or a will, it is impossible to determine how extravagant her tastes might have been, but two items associated with the Valence household (although acquired by William, not Joan) suggest that the Valence men, at least, might have enjoyed a more ornate aesthetic: a box from Limoges called the "Valence Casket" that has an elaborately enameled and jeweled exterior,⁴⁶ and a jeweled cross, brought by William or his son, William the Younger, from the Holy Land and given to Aymer, who then bequeathed it to his second wife, Marie de St. Pol.⁴⁷ In contrast, the catalogues of clothing and jewels mentioned in Joan's household receipts suggest that she

45 This is a significant contrast to the extravagance of Eleanor Cobham and her household, as discussed by Fisher in this volume.

46 This is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Museum number 4-1865, housed in the Medieval and Renaissance galleries, Room 9, Case 1. See <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O126749/the-valence-casket-casket-unknown/>>, accessed 26 October 2015.

47 She, in turn, bequeathed it to Westminster Abbey, but it is now lost. For a discussion of Marie de St. Pol's role in Queen Isabella's household, see Dunn's article in this volume.

lived in a rather simpler style. Still, Joan might have enjoyed the luxuries her husband acquired; she just might have balked at purchasing them herself.

Given the wide range of work and business in which Joan's household engaged, it is easy to imagine her domestic environment as bustling: attendants constantly coming and going, visitors arriving and taking their leave, workers constantly engaged, chancery and scriptorium humming with activity. In the midst of this bustle was Joan, whose prodigious energy even in old age is notable in the records of her widowhood. She would have been as much a part of the daily round of activities as anyone else in the household. The languorous lady in the tower apparently held no appeal for the septuagenarian dowager. Thus, as mentioned before, the quality of the head determined the quality of the management of the household.

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Eleanor of Brittany in Confinement: Problematizing Paradigms of the Household for Noble Prisoners

Eileen Kim

I ask you most solicitously that you, the above-named, would travel to England, to my lord uncle, the King of England, knowing for certain that your coming, God willing, will confer great honor and benefit to ourselves and yourselves, and, by the grace of God, our liberation.¹



A request bordering on a plea, the above excerpt from a letter dated 27 May 1208 and addressed to a small party of bishops and magnates regarding the prospect of negotiating with King John concerning her possible release, comes from the only known statement issued by Eleanor of Brittany herself over nearly forty years in captivity under John and Henry III, from around 1203 to her death in 1241. This essay will explore the case of Eleanor of Brittany, daughter of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Duke of Brittany and Richmond, and his wife Constance. As sister to Arthur, heir to Brittany before his probable murder at the hands of John, the son of Henry II and Geoffrey's older brother, it has often been argued that she was a potential claimant to the throne of England and thus posed a dangerous risk to John's kingship.

Previous work has discussed Eleanor's case primarily in terms of its political implications, but her extended confinement raises significant questions about the nature of her life in what can best be described as an itinerant household, shifting between various castles and royal custody. Scholarship on Eleanor and the circumstances of her captivity under John and Henry III has tended to unquestioningly accept the term "household" to characterize Eleanor's domes-

1 "[...] uos rogamus attentius quatinus uos supranominati ad dominum auunculum meum Regem Angliae in Angliam ueniat scituri pro certo quod aduentus uester Deo uolente nobis et uobis ad magnum cedet commodum et honorem, et per Dei gratiam ad liberacionem nostram." Thomas Duffus Hardy, ed., *Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asseruati*, 1.1 (London, 1835), p. 91b; hereafter cited as *RLP*. I have expanded the abbreviations in Hardy's transcription, but a full transcription is also available in Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conuentiones, litterae, et cujuscumque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliae et alios quosuis imperatores, reges, pontifices, princeps, uel communitates*, 1 (London, 1816-33), p. 101.

tic and subsistence arrangements.² This essay, however, will draw attention to several factors in Eleanor's situation that problematize the use of the term to describe her situation. As part of this endeavor, the present discussion will address the following questions: Could the state of confinement create a household in its own right? What characteristics are critical to the formation of a "true" household, and did the circumstances of Eleanor's confinement fulfill the conventional paradigms of a "household"? Her story as a surviving sister of a potential claimant to England's throne, and the composite portrait of the treatment she received as prisoner-cum-ward of John and Henry III, offers a complex and nuanced consideration of the intersections between captivity, domestic life, and the structures of a household, and the ways that confinement, particularly the social and material elements comprising the prisoner's day-to-day life, challenged conceptions of the household.

A small body of documents survives among the royal records from the period, and it is these records that permit a glimpse of her daily routine and quality of life. Particularly intriguing among these sources is a meticulously itemized diet account that logs daily purchases for Eleanor and her household during her confinement at Bristol Castle from June 1225 to March 1226.³ Her stay at the castle was ultimately her longest continuous period of confinement in a single location. The account is one of the most detailed diet records to survive for the period, and it thus offers unique insights on the quality and rhythms of daily life for an individual captured in a delicate, politically fraught position as an extended member of England's ruling Plantagenet family. Eleanor's account, of course, and this study of it, is just one representation and approach among others concerning the daily administration of a household centered upon and/or managed by a woman. Linda Mitchell's discussion of Joan de Valance, her supervision of her own household, and the daily account and receipts surviving from Joan's administration, offers an illuminative counterpoint to the present study. Sally Fisher's examination of a literary account concerning Eleanor of Cobham as the head of an unstable, disgraced elite household also presents a perspective that complements Eleanor of Brittany's

2 See, for instance, Christopher Woolgar's preface to his transcription of Eleanor's diet account at Bristol Castle from June 1225 to March 1226 in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, 2 vols (New York and Oxford, 1992), 1: 126-50. All references to the diet account in this essay will be based on Woolgar's transcription. See also *Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Margaret Sharp (Gloucester, 1982), p. xxvii; and Gwen Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany and Her Treatment by King John and Henry III," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 51 (2007): 73-100, on p. 97.

3 Ed. Woolgar, *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, 1: 126-50. The original account is TNA E 101/350/11.

circumstances as a woman at the center of a closely-managed and guarded household.⁴ The 1225-6 Bristol Castle diet account, together with contemporaneous records from King John and Henry III's Chancery Rolls, reveals a snapshot of a life in which features of a typically elite standard of living intersected with elements of non-voluntary confinement and imprisonment.

Eleanor of Brittany: Biography and Political Context

In order to situate Eleanor's living conditions as revealed in the diet account and Chancery Rolls in their proper context, some background information on her personal circumstances, the political backdrop, and the history of Bristol Castle itself is necessary. Eleanor was born between 1182 and 1184, one of three children of Geoffrey and Constance of Brittany, along with Arthur and a younger sister, Matilda.⁵ As Gwen Seabourne explains, the conventional position adopted by scholars including Léon Guilloureaux, Malcolm Craig, John Gillingham, and Wilfrid Lewis Warren has been that John assumed control of Eleanor at, or as a consequence of, the siege of Mirebeau in 1202. Seabourne, however, argues that Eleanor had become Richard I's ward prior to the siege. Records indicate that she travelled with Richard's entourage to Normandy in 1190, and that she journeyed as far as Rouen in December 1194 for marriage negotiations, but was returned to Richard after the negotiations proved unsuccessful. Her whereabouts during the period 1195 to 1198 are uncertain (though Guilloureaux believed that she was in Brittany), but she was in Arques (i.e. Normandy) prior to Michaelmas 1198. John most likely took Eleanor into custody shortly before Mirebeau, or Richard might have done so even earlier, but she was certainly in the hands of the English monarchy by 1202, and she remained a ward under the English monarchs, first John, and then Henry III, for the remainder of her life.⁶

4 See essays by Linda E. Mitchell and Sally Fisher, both in this volume.

5 See Léon Guilloureaux, "Aliénor de Bretagne: quelques détails relatifs à sa captivité (1203-1241)," *Revue de Bretagne* 37 (1907): 257-336, on p. 258; and Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 73. Guilloureaux states that Eleanor was one or two years old at the most at the time of Geoffrey's death in 1186; Seabourne provides the date range 1182-1184.

6 Regarding support for the view that Eleanor's capture occurred at or due to the siege, see Guilloureaux, "Aliénor," p. 261; Malcolm A. Craig, "A Second Daughter of Geoffrey of Brittany," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 50 (1977): 112-15, on p. 112; John Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry, and War in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1994), p. 79; and Wilfrid L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1961, repr. 1978).

A Threat to England's Throne? Eleanor as Potential Claimant to Brittany, Richmond, and the Crown

The idea that Eleanor posed a serious challenge to John and Henry III, respectively, or that they felt threatened by her status as a potential claimant, also requires some further examination. Her strongest claims, namely to the duchies of Brittany and Richmond, were in fact not territories that either king attempted to acquire for himself. She therefore did not present a risk in that respect. Even if John had viewed Eleanor's position as a potential danger, Eleanor's use of the title "duchess of Brittany and Richmond" in her letter of 1208, and John's implicit approval in allowing her to do so, suggests that her use of the title was not in reality as much of a threat as has been previously suggested. In addition, the barons of Brittany formally recognized Eleanor's younger half-sister Alix as duchess of Brittany, with Philip Augustus confirming Alix's title in 1206; there would have been little reason for John or his successor, Henry, to continue to perceive Eleanor as a challenger.⁷

She did hold several other possible claims, most notably to England, though it was relatively weaker than her stake in the territories of Brittany and Richmond. The validity of her claim to England's throne lay in her position as a daughter of the Duke of Brittany – Geoffrey, John's older brother and Henry III's uncle – and therefore she preceded both in the line of succession to the throne by virtue of the representative principle, which prioritized the children of the incumbent's older child over the rights of the incumbent's younger children. The representative principle's validity during Eleanor's time, however, was still unstable, and so the extent to which it would have been applicable is debatable.

As well as the aforementioned situation, any attempted claim by Eleanor would have had to contend with the apparent situation that Richard had designated John, his brother, rather than Arthur, his nephew through his younger brother Geoffrey, as successor to the throne. Tipping the balance further in John's favor was the report that Arthur himself had performed actions curtailing his own claim to the throne, including payment of homage to John as his

7 See James C. Holt, *Colonial England, 1066-1215* (London, 1997), pp. 308-10; and idem, "King John and Arthur of Brittany," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 44 (2000): 82-103, especially pp. 92-3 for Holt's discussion of Eleanor's part. Holt argues that Arthur's claim against that of John for Brittany was stronger than conventional views have recognized, therefore Eleanor's own potential stake, as representative claimant, might have been of concern to John. Breton support for Eleanor, however, seems to have been faint, at best, especially after the barons' acceptance of Alix as duchess, and Philip Augustus's confirmation of Alix's position in 1206. See Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," pp. 83-5.

vassal, as per the terms of the agreement forged in 1200 at Le Goulet between Philip Augustus and John.⁸ Such an agreement constituted a significant switch in political alliances, as Philip had been Arthur's mentor and ally in the latter's bid against his uncle John for rule of England.⁹ According to the settlement, Arthur's claim was reduced to Brittany alone. He was reportedly less than happy about the change, and nearly two years later, perhaps because renewed friction between John and Philip essentially nullified the treaty at Le Goulet, Arthur refused John's call, on Easter 1202, to pay homage at Normandy.¹⁰

On the other hand, contemporary records suggest some awareness of, and anxiety concerning, the challenge that a figure quite similar to Eleanor could present to the crown. According to Thomas Duffus Hardy, a Close Roll entry dated 13 Henry III (c.1229) states that "it is neither custom nor law in our land of England that the daughter of the brother of any firstborn [son] can or should challenge the younger brother succeeding his father to the inheritance beyond her [own] inheritance."¹¹ If it was indeed the case that such a law was a long-established principle in England by the time of Henry III's reign, there would have been little reason for Henry to consider Eleanor a viable challenger to his own rule.

The entry's timing, on the other hand, suggests some degree of precisely that worry. Henry took full possession of his authority as king in January 1227, when he was nineteen years and three months old. Clause 3, however, of the 1216 version of Magna Carta specifically identified the age of majority as twenty-one for England's barons; the collective assessment would have held the king to the same rule. Indeed, both the abbot of Dore and the bishop of Bath renewed charters granted to Henry after January 1227, the former because the charters in question had been granted "while the king was of minor age," and the latter because the charters had been given "before the completion of [Henry's] twenty-first year."¹² The Close Roll entry's occurrence in Henry's thir-

8 Walter Ullmann, "Arthur's Homage to King John," *English Historical Review* 94 (1979): 356-64, especially p. 358.

9 Ullmann, "Arthur's Homage," pp. 356, 358, and 360-63; see also Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 82, notes 68 and 69.

10 Judith A. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire 1158-1203* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 174.

11 "Non est consuetudo uel lex in terra nostra Angliae quod filia fratris alicujus primogeniti fratrem juniorem patri suo succedentem haereditarie super haereditate sua possit uel debeat impetere." In Thomas Duffus Hardy, ed., *A Description of the Close Rolls in the Tower of London* (London, 1833), p. 140.

12 For the acknowledgement and discussion by various parties such as the Abbot of Dore and Bishop of Bath concerning Henry's age when he received his full regal powers, see

teenth regnal year, or, more specifically, the entry's attempt to invalidate the kind of rival claim that so closely fit Eleanor's case, right around the time of Henry's majority and not earlier, is significant: clearly, Eleanor, or at least women in similar positions, opened up potential questions of succession and authority that could not be overlooked.

It is important, nevertheless, not to overstate the extent of the challenge that one such as Eleanor apparently posed to the throne. In a practical sense, the royal administration directly acknowledged and took responsibility for the necessities of Eleanor's day-to-day needs and had done so long before, as well as after, the date of the Close Rolls entry. A Pipe Roll record dated 2 John (c. 1199-1200) indicates that John provided her with "necessaries" not long before the siege at Mirebeau in 1202, nearly thirty years earlier.¹³ In balance, then, the steady stream of instructions and provisions concerning Eleanor's welfare over the tenure of her custody tempers the anxiety signaled in the Close Rolls entry from 13 Henry III.

John's treatment of Eleanor during her early captivity further unravels the likelihood to which her confinement can be attributed to the kings' view of her as a significant threat for rule over England. The degree to which Eleanor posed a true hazard to either John or Henry III, as a potential claimant to the duchies of Brittany and Richmond, is questionable.¹⁴ On the one hand, at least one chronicle called Eleanor the "true heir to England."¹⁵ As will be discussed shortly, John and Henry showed active and ongoing interest in her welfare and ensured that she remained under close watch, but under both kings' rule, she received comfortable treatment befitting her aristocratic station; neither king acted in a way that suggested that she posed a truly urgent challenge to their rule. Even before she was clearly in John's hands following Mirebeau, Richard had attempted to negotiate a marriage for Eleanor on at least two occasions: first, in 1193, to Fredrick of Austria, son of the incumbent duke; and second, in 1195, to Louis, son of Philip of France. Both attempts, however, were ultimately

David A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), pp. 123-4.

13 Doris M. Stenton, ed., *Pipe Roll 2 John*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, n.s. 12 (London, 1934), pp. xiv and 190. As the discussion below will demonstrate, consistent references to Eleanor in the royal administrative records through the years of her custody under John and Henry III suggests reasonably conscientious concern for her welfare.

14 See Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 82, for further discussion. This essay is indebted to Seabourne's work in identifying and collating a voluminous body of references and documentation on Eleanor.

15 "[...] fuit uera heres Angliae." William Stubbs, ed., *Annales Londonienses*, 2 vols. (London, 1882-83), vol 1, p. 38; also cited in Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 83.

unsuccessful.¹⁶ Earlier in John's custody of Eleanor, she accompanied him to Normandy, probably in the hope that she could help raise support among the Breton nobles for John's rule. He also revealed an initial willingness to consider her release: the letter written by Eleanor to several bishops and magnates in 1208 affirmed that John would provide letters of safe-conduct for the addressees to travel to John's court and negotiate for her liberation. In the letter, she styled herself "duchess of Brittany and Richmond," a move that surely would not have escaped his notice before the missive was sent and recorded in his Close Roll registers. John eventually transferred his support for the inheritance of Brittany and Richmond to Eleanor's half-sister Alix and Alix's husband, Peter Dreux, yet Eleanor remained under custody for the duration of his rule, as well as that of Henry III, until her death in 1241.

Why, then, did John and Henry keep Eleanor under confinement for the rest of her life, if she presented only a distant challenge to their rule? This essay argues that the conditions of Eleanor's captivity employed elements and rhetoric evocative of a household structure in order to create stability and legitimacy sufficient to justify Eleanor's continued custody and to normalize the fact of her confinement. Closer scrutiny of the same conditions, however, reveals that her confinement lacked fundamental elements essential to a genuine, viable, and organic household structure.

Eleanor of Brittany was known to have been at Corfe Castle in 1204 and Salisbury in 1208; in 1214, she travelled to Poitou with John, Richard, and the

16 The proposed marriage between Eleanor and Frederick was part of the terms of an agreement for Richard's liberation from Henry, emperor of the Romans, following his capture in Jerusalem in 1193. According to Roger of Hoveden, as part of Richard's release, he was to pay 100,000 marks to Henry, followed by an additional 50,000 marks, delivery of sixty hostages to Henry and seven hostages to the Duke of Austria, and delivery of Eleanor in marriage to Frederick, son of Leopold, Duke of Austria, following Richard's liberation. For the account of Richard's negotiation and release, see *Annals of Roger de Hoveden: comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from AD 732 to AD 1201*, trans. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols. (London, 1853), vol 1, pp. 266-312. Richard acted on his pledge in December 1194, sending Eleanor with an escort, Baldwin de Béthune, to Leopold to marry Frederick. Leopold died at the end of December, as Baldwin de Béthune and Eleanor were approaching Leopold's territories; upon hearing of the duke's death, Baldwin returned Eleanor to Richard; see *Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, vol 2, pp. 345-47. The proposed marriage between Eleanor and Louis was mentioned in a treaty of 1195, but not in subsequent negotiations; in June 1200, Louis married daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile. For Richard's negotiations to marry Eleanor to Louis, son of the king of France, see *Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, vol 2, p. 370 and vol 2, p. 480.

queen.¹⁷ The expedition to France seems to suggest John's acknowledgement, at that time, that Eleanor might be able to draw support as a claimant to the rulership of Brittany.¹⁸

Following the trip, however, John and Henry III transferred their allegiance from Eleanor to her half-sister, Alix (or Alice), and Alix's husband Peter of Dreux. Alix was the eldest daughter of Eleanor's mother, Constance of Brittany, and Constance's third husband, Guy of Thouars, whom Constance had married in September or October 1199, sometime after the death of her first husband and Eleanor's father, Duke Geoffrey of Brittany, in 1186, and after the marriage (February 1189) and subsequent annulment of Constance's marriage to Ranulf III, earl of Chester.¹⁹ Between 1215 and 1234, both kings made gestures acknowledging Peter and Alix's rulership in Brittany and Richmond, and therefore effectively ending any claim Eleanor might have had to the lands. She herself spent the majority of her adult life in custody, at least from John's initial takeover around 1202 to the end of her life in 1241. Over the course of her captivity, she spent the greatest amount of time in Bristol Castle, but she was also housed in the castles of Corfe, Gloucester, and Marlborough, all known as among the king's most secure and fortified venues.²⁰

It is of note that the aforementioned castles of Corfe, Gloucester, Marlborough, and Bristol were each known for their strength and security. The thirteenth-century chronicler Thomas Wykes attested that Eleanor was held in well-fortified locations.²¹ Symeon of Durham described Bristol Castle itself as

17 Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," pp. 78-9; and M.A. Pollock, *Scotland, England, and France After the Loss of Normandy, 1204-1296: 'Auld Amitie'* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 63.

18 Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," pp. 84 and n. 79 on the same page. See also Warren, *King John*, p. 221; and Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, p. 79.

19 For a useful summary of the chronology of Constance's treatment and circumstances surrounding her marriages, see Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, pp. 155-73. As Everard states, the reasons for the annulment of Constance's and Ranulf's marriage are unclear; see Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 171.

20 The first mention of Eleanor's presence at Corfe dates to summer 1213; see Guilloureaux, "Aliénor," p. 267. Eleanor's stay at Gloucester Castle has been dated for the period 19 August 1222 to 20 July 1223; see Thomas Bond, *History and Description of Corfe Castle, in the Isle of Purbeck, Dorset* (London, 1883), p. 15; and Thomas Duffus Hardy, ed., *Rotuli litterarum clausarum Turri Londinensi asseruati*, 2 vols. (London, 1833-44), vol 1, p. 508a; hereafter cited as *RLC*; Guilloureaux, "Aliénor," p. 274. She was at Marlborough in 1223: see *RLC*, vol 1, p. 546; Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 95.

21 "in castris munitissimis," Thomas Wykes, *Annales monastici*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 4 vols. (London, 1864-69), vol 4, p. 51.

a “castrum fortissimum.”²² The castle’s keep, too, which contained Eleanor’s living quarters, garnered praise from Robert of Gloucester as “the flower” of all of England’s keeps.²³ Another contemporary writer provided further information regarding the keep’s dimensions: William Worcester stated that the keep measured sixty feet horizontally and forty-five feet vertically. With conjectures that the keep’s external dimensions were probably ninety by seventy-five feet, it appears that the keep was roughly equivalent to that of Canterbury Castle.²⁴ Overall, Bristol ranked among England’s most important castles for its function as a local center for administration, its capacity as a political prison, and its military function.²⁵

Bristol Castle’s own strength was supplemented with added security measures for Eleanor’s stay. Over the duration of her custody under John and Henry III, a long succession of royally-appointed personnel was specifically tasked to guard her. From approximately 1204 until her death in 1241, at least twenty-three different men held responsibility for either the finances or the security, often both, in connection to her care.²⁶ Among these men was Ralph de Wilton, constable of Bristol Castle from 13 March 1224 to 16 March 1229; it was Wilton who oversaw Eleanor’s welfare during the period of her diet account at Bristol.²⁷

Constructing the Household: The Material Conditions of Eleanor’s Captivity

That Eleanor lived in an environment that closely emulated a household at Bristol Castle is clear. A Close Roll record from Henry III’s reign uses the term “familia” in connection with Eleanor, indicating that she had a household at the castle.²⁸ According to the diet account listing expenses incurred at the castle for the period 13 March 1224 to 14 March 1225, Eleanor lived on-site with

22 Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, 2 vols. (London, 1882–5), vol 2, p. 215; also cited in R. Allen Brown, H.M. Colvin, and A.J. Taylor, eds., *The History of the King’s Works*, 7 vols. (London, 1963), vol 1, p. 578.

23 “þat of alle þe tours of Engelond ys yholde flour.” Robert of Gloucester, *Chronicle*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1724), vol 2, p. 433.

24 *King’s Works*, vol 1, p. 578.

25 *King’s Works*, vol 1, p. 578.

26 See Seabourne, “Eleanor of Brittany,” p. 94, n. 149, for the names of those appointed to the position.

27 See *Constables of Bristol Castle*, Appendix 2: “Lists of Constables,” p. 80.

28 TNA E 372/77 m. 2; cited in Seabourne, “Eleanor of Brittany,” p. 103.

one female attendant, a chaplain, and two clerks.²⁹ The constable also had his own staff, namely four knights, three serjeants, thirteen squires as the servants' assistants, a clerk of the castle, seven watchmen, four porters or door-keepers, one steward, two bakers, one gardener, a cook, two serjeant-carters, one laundress, one recluse, two ale-porters, one purveyor of fodder seventeen grooms, and twenty-five horses.³⁰ This staff list probably reflected an increase in personnel from before Eleanor's arrival. Castle garrisons were usually small: at Bristol, about fifty to sixty years after Eleanor's stay at the castle, only four individuals were documented as recipients of regular pay, namely the constable, two watchmen, a janitor, and a gatekeeper. Crossbowmen appear on occasion in the constables' accounts during Edward's rule, as does a single mention of a steward.³¹ The records indicate heightened attention concerning staffing needs for the custody of Eleanor, both at Bristol and elsewhere. When she relocated to Marlborough Castle in 1223, Henry III's council instructed that additional horsemen and crossbowmen should be added to the castle's existing guard.³² Upon Eleanor's move to Gloucester Castle shortly afterwards, prisoners who were already there were removed temporarily to accommodate her; the abbot of Cirencester housed them in the meantime.³³ In 1227, during Eleanor's stay in Bristol, Henry ordered that additional staff, namely a knight and two horses, along with two squires, and one groom, be added to assist Ralph de Wilton in overseeing Eleanor's care.³⁴

The same diet account contains one or two clues as to the staff caring for Eleanor as well. At one point at Bristol, at least, she had more than one female attendant: the entry for 28 February 1226 notes a charge of 3*d.* for bloodletting for Eleanor and her chamber-women.³⁵ It may be that Henry or perhaps the constable, acting on the king's behalf, approved the additional attendants on a more long-term capacity, at least between the account and 1233, for a Liberate Roll entry for 23 May 1233 instructs that two rabbit-skin fur-trimmings were to be provided for Eleanor's two chamber-women.³⁶

It is clear from the records, then, that a domestic arrangement evocative of a household existed at the time of Eleanor's confinement at Bristol, Gloucester,

29 *Constables of Bristol Castle*, p. 6.

30 As listed in *Constables of Bristol Castle*, pp. 6-7; for the English translation, see p. xxxv.

31 *Constables of Bristol Castle*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

32 Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 95; Guilloreau, "Aliénor," p. 326; and *RLC*, vol 1, p. 546. Mention of the crossbowmen in 1222-23 appears in TNA E 372/67 m. 13.

33 Ralph B. Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 78-79.

34 Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," 95; and *RLC*, vol 2, p. 187.

35 "et domicellarum suarum." See Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol 1, p. 150.

36 *Calendar of Liberate Rolls*, 1 (London, 1917), p. 216; hereafter cited as *CLR*.

and Marlborough castles, drawing from a combination of individuals appointed to the constable's staff and people tasked specifically for Eleanor's care. As for the quality of her treatment, numerous details in the surviving Bristol Castle diet account for 1225-26, together with other records from the royal Chancery Rolls, attest that her confinement was generally comfortable and of a standard commensurate to her aristocratic status. Indeed, the diet account amply indicates that Eleanor's household at Bristol both purchased and received provisions that would have been considered appropriate for her rank. As a whole, the account is organized in a fashion that closely aligns with other contemporaneous household accounts.³⁷ There is a sense of "departmentalization": expenses appear roughly in the order of ale, basic comestibles like bread, meat or fish, and perhaps wine or spices, then alms and costs for the marshalsea or stable-related care. Other miscellaneous costs occasionally appeared as well, such as purchases of household objects like table linens, serving ware, and kitchen implements.

The account also exhibits a well-maintained, consistent balance of items, with staples appearing with unfailing regularity for the full duration of the surviving account. Ale, for instance, appears nearly every single day, and bread follows with only slightly less predictability. The household also made purchases of meat on a near-daily basis, save for the traditional fast days of Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The choice of meat purchased reflects high quality and variety: most daily entries include purchases of at least two kinds of meat, and occasionally more. Beef, pork, chicken, and mutton appear with the greatest frequency, but other meat such as goat, goose, and even boar are noted at various intervals. The quality of meat within these categories is also fairly high, though still subject to seasonal availability. The account refers to pullet ("pulli"), or young chicken, from summer through to 15 December 1225. In the next mention of chicken purchased, on 25 December, "galline" is used, presumably referring to older hens; the term is consistently applied through to the final recorded purchase of chicken on 3 March 1226. Subtle distinctions in terminology, for example, pork ("porcus") versus bacon ("baco") suggest differentiation between fresh and preserved meat. Pork purchases appeared on a near-daily basis from summer through to at least 15 February 1226, and these purchases of pork were probably, on the whole, from animals slaughtered at a younger age, typically one or two years old, and therefore more tender meat.³⁸

37 See, for instance, the household roll for 10 Henry III in Fred A. Cazell Jr., ed., *Roll of Divers Accounts for the Early Years of the Reign of Henry III* (London, 1982), pp. 93-102.

38 Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-c. 1520*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1989), p. 60.

From mid-autumn onwards, namely from the week of 11-17 October 1225, the accounts recorded pork drawn from stock on a more frequent basis. The precise form of the pork taken from reserves is not clear, but it seems to stand in distinct contrast to the account's references to "baco," or preserved pork. Eleanor's household at Bristol thus appears to have enjoyed a comfortable and fairly generous proportion of varied fresh, often younger meat along with meat from older animals and in preserved form.

Fish features prominently in the household's purchasing pattern as well. Eleanor and her household clearly practiced the customary abstention days of Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, for on each of the aforesaid three days per week, purchases of fish replaced meat. Here, too, the variety of fish attests to high quality and a reasonably wide range in diet for Eleanor's household. Purchases of fish included salmon, conger eel, bream sole, and hake, all marine fish, perhaps not surprising due to Bristol's proximity to the North Atlantic Ocean, as well as its status as one of England's major port cities.³⁹ Besides the fish itself, the household's adherence to the conventional weekly fasting days also contributes to a sense of corporate identity as a community living and operating in sync.

Purchases of food for Eleanor's household at Bristol Castle certainly stretched beyond bread, ale, meat, and fish. The account also contains numerous references to purchases of dairy items, nuts, cereals, fruit and vegetables, wine, vinegar, and spices. Milk, butter, cheese, and eggs appear regularly throughout the thirty-nine weeks recorded in the document, and the household frequently consumed cheese from stock as well. Almonds were acquired once, sometimes twice, for nearly every week, often on fast days in tandem with purchases of fish.

Spices also featured with some frequency: the household usually bought pepper every one to two weeks, and cinnamon, saffron and cumin make occasional appearances as well. Indeed, during what seems to have been a bulk "stocking up" trip sometime during the week of 4-10 October 1225, the household purchased half a pound of saffron, four pounds of cumin, fifteen pounds of pepper, and 100 pounds and a half, plus one quarter of almonds (i.e. eight

39 For a discussion of the major ports and their development in the later medieval period, including Bristol, see Maryanne Kowaleski, "The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England," *Economic History Review* 53:3 (2000): 429-54. For an interesting discussion of the range of foods theoretically available, their nutritional values, and therefore their ability to contribute to a balanced diet, albeit in the early medieval European context, see Kathy L. Pearson, "Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet," *Speculum* 72:1 (1997): 1-32.

bushels of almonds).⁴⁰ Other items purchased on the same occasion included cattle, pigs, a tun of wine, two plates, and 152 pounds of wax tapers.⁴¹ The account notes that the plates were purchased at the Bristol fair; it seems reasonable to surmise, given the bulk purchases, that most if not all of the items listed were also purchased at the fair.⁴² Peas, beans, cereals, and fruit such as apples and pears make occasional appearances, and it is possible that produce was supplied from gardens maintained by the household rather than from vendors, for this was common practice in manors and monasteries.⁴³ The Bristol Castle diet account suggests, moreover, that special provision was made to mark days of significance: on Christmas Day 1225, purchases for the household included fowl, mead, a litter, costs for making pastries, and serving ware, including cups, pitchers, and dishes. The daily total, 16s. 11d. *obolus* (half-penny), amounted to roughly double the typical range of 5s. to 9s..⁴⁴

The purchases documented in the diet account speak to a standard of comfort that certainly surpassed typical gaol conditions, where prisoners faced the dilemma of arranging their own food and supplies, though some were lucky enough to benefit from funds set up by the king or other authorities.⁴⁵ The consistent prominence and variety of high-quality foods such as meat, fish, and spices, purchased together with staples like ale and bread on a daily basis, align very closely to aristocratic living standards.⁴⁶ Even the slightly more sporadic appearance of dairy such as milk, eggs, cheese, and butter is congruous with general aristocratic standards, as is the even more occasional purchase of fresh produce.⁴⁷

References to provisions for Eleanor and her household in other records are consistent with the sense, conveyed in the diet account, that Eleanor's confinement at Bristol was relatively comfortable and reasonably close to living standards to which she normally would have been accustomed. Entries in the chancery records provide further indication that her treatment under John and Henry III was of fairly high quality and undertaken nearly always with her royal connections in mind. Over the course of her confinement, the kings ordered garments, or at least the materials for them, including silk, linen, or scarlet, sometimes with fur trimming, for Eleanor and, on occasion, her

40 "In C et di. et i qr. de amigdalīs." Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol. 1, p. 138.

41 Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol 1, p. 138.

42 "In ii patellis emptis in nundinis Bristoll, xx d." Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol 1, p. 138.

43 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp. 63-4.

44 Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol 1, p. 144.

45 Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England*, pp. 315-23.

46 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp. 62-3.

47 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 63.

attendants. During Eleanor's confinement at Corfe Castle together with Isabelle and Margaret, the daughters of the king of Scotland, John commissioned sets of clothing, from dark green tunics and supertunics to capes of cambric, miniver, and lengths of "good" linen cloth and "thin" shoes, for all three, along with their maids.⁴⁸ Eleanor also received a cap with miniver fur, a hood for use in rainy weather, and a saddle "with gilded reins," suggesting that some degree of style or decoration was allowed, and, moreover, that she had some mobility even in her confinement.⁴⁹ John had a second saddle sent to Eleanor the following month, a "beautiful saddle with a saddle-cloth of scarlet and gilded reins," suggesting, again, that a certain element of style was permitted.⁵⁰ John might well have approved the decorative elements as a visible acknowledgement of her elite status; at the same time, the same elements might have been approved in anticipation that Eleanor would ride in a public display of some sort. John did, in fact, take Eleanor with him on his expedition to France, possibly in the hope that she could draw Breton support for his bid to build a political base of power in France.⁵¹

Henry III continued a similar standard of provision: in a letter dated 8 December 1221, he ordered a number of items for both Eleanor and Isabelle of Scotland, including a couch of silk, bedding of good linen and scarlet, and clothing for Eleanor's maid, albeit of slightly less expensive green cloth.⁵² In addition, on 7 August 1222, Henry instructed the sheriff of Gloucester Castle to ensure that the needs of Eleanor, her two waiting maids at Gloucester, her three keepers, Walter de St. Audoen, Richard de Landa, and Gilbert de Greenville, their retinue of eight men and six horses, and Eleanor's household at the castle, were all met and the ensuing expenses to be presented to Henry at the Exchequer.⁵³

As indicated above, provision for Eleanor extended beyond just food and clothing to bedding and other necessities. The diet account notes, on numerous occasions, costs for serving ware, kitchen and cooking implements, and toilet items, among other necessities. Both John's and Henry's accounts indicate that attention towards such comforts and amenities for Eleanor continued

48 *RLC*, vol 1, p. 144; also cited in Hardy, *Description of the Close Rolls*, p. 141. John had taken Isabelle and Margaret into custody under separate conditions, as will be noted below.

49 *RLC*, vol 1, p. 144b.

50 "unam sellam pulcrum cum sambuca de scarletta et lorrenniis deauratis ad opus neptis nostre." *RLC*, vol 1, p. 150.

51 See Warren, *King John*, pp. 221-22; Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, p. 79; and Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 84.

52 *RLC*, vol 1, p. 483.

53 *RLC*, vol 1, p. 507.

beyond the period of the 1225-6 Bristol Castle account itself. In 1233, Henry ordered Peter de Rivall, then Eleanor's guardian at Bristol, to provide four dishes and four saucers for her use, as well as new robes of scarlet with trimmings of hind-skin fur.⁵⁴ Personal physical care is also featured across a number of records. John approved a physician who gave Eleanor medicine during a bout of sickness, and Henry paid for physical and medical care as well: the 1225-6 Bristol Castle account notes expenses for a bath for Eleanor on two occasions, and Henry paid for medical treatment for an infirm Matthew Wallop, sheriff of Winchester Castle, who had been appointed as one of Eleanor's guards.⁵⁵

There is some indication, moreover, that some of the care she received at Bristol was prophylactic in nature rather than a remedy for an existing illness or condition. She received administration of bloodletting on three separate occasions; on two of those instances, the procedure was applied to Eleanor together with her chamber-women, suggesting that the occasion was more likely part of a general health regimen, rather than a reactive measure. Bloodletting aside, the diet account does record a more enigmatic reference to wine purchased "for the lady's eyes." The possibility that the note refers to an ailment that Eleanor suffered at the time is certainly plausible, but the larger point here is that she received reasonably attentive care and did not suffer from undue neglect.

Accommodations for Eleanor included spiritual as well as material and physical concessions, especially during Henry's reign. During the periods 1225-6 and 1233-4, the Chancery Rolls document annual payments of twenty marks to Eleanor for her almsgiving, usually divided into quarterly payments of five marks each; the yearly sum was raised to twenty-five marks in 1229.⁵⁶ Henry took the grant a step further in 1235, granting her the manor of Swaffham or its issues as the basis for revenue for her alms.⁵⁷

Several contemporary narratives of Eleanor's experience asserted that she received honorable treatment under both kings.⁵⁸ That Eleanor was of importance is also clear from both John's and Henry's direct involvement in

54 *CLR*, vol 1, p. 202.

55 See Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England*, p. 315 regarding Wallop's tenure at Winchester Castle.

56 *RLC*, vol 2, p. 22b; *CLR*, vol 1, pp. 136, 178, 213, and 238; TNA E 372/76 m. 14d; also cited in Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 102.

57 *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, III (London, 1908), p. 150; and *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, IV (London, 1911), p. 314. See also Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 102.

58 Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1876), p. 52; and Nicholas Trivet, *Annales Sex Regum Angliæ*, ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), p. 172.

the manner and quality of her treatment, or at least their care in appointing and supervising personnel to whom they delegated her day-to-day treatment. Their personal involvement and the quality of the amenities provided to her, as demonstrated by the rich variety and high caliber of food, clothing, personal care, and other comforts and necessities, comprise a picture of an honorable and comfortable confinement, as Walsingham's *Ypodigma* attests. At the same time, however, evidence suggests that the quality of Eleanor's living conditions was kept within a clear upper limit. In an order of garments and sheets for Eleanor dated 15 July in the sixteenth year of his reign, John instructed Peter de Maulay that, though the chemises and sheets should be made of "lineam telam bonam et delicatam," "good and fine linen cloth", it was not to be of his own finest cloth; however, if such was the only cloth sufficiently suited for the order, Peter was permitted to purchase it as best as he could with John's money.⁵⁹ John's order implies concern to maintain a specific hierarchy in which Eleanor could see, and conform with, an order of precedence in which she remained a clear subordinate to himself.

A second, perhaps less benign, purpose in John and Henry's motivation for maintaining such an active role in her care can therefore be read in at least two ways. First, their close attention probably indicated their concern that Eleanor should receive treatment befitting her identity and station as a relative of the royal family, a connection that John and Henry continuously affirmed in their consistent use of the terms "neptis" and "consanguinea" respectively. Their solicitude, however, also constituted active surveillance. That both kings maintained close watch over Eleanor and her household is clear from the existence and administration of the 1225-6 diet account, of course, not only in the transparency it offered via the itemized presentation of the individual expenses that the household incurred, but also in the handling of the account in connection with the constables' and the kings' larger administrative processes.

The account functioned as an intensely and consciously public document: by Henry's order of 9 October 1224, the bailiffs of Bristol, together with four "responsible citizens," were to visit Eleanor once or twice a week to "ensure her safe custody." Henry also ordered that they hear a recitation of the expenses incurred for Eleanor and others at the castle at the close of each week. As an added measure, the constable at the time, Ralph de Wilton, was to have one copy of the account, and the aforementioned four citizens were to have a second copy. The physical copy of PRO E/101/349/11, the constable's copy of the Bristol Castle diet account for 1225-6, bears witness to Henry's order: it is a clean copy of the account and appears to have been written in one sitting, rather than in increments as purchases were made. It was probably intended

59 RLC, vol 1, p. 168; and Hardy, *Description of the Close Rolls*, p. 142.

to be a fair copy, as no signs of auditing or other notation are visible, either interlineal or in the margins.⁶⁰ In a letter dated 11 March 1225, Henry reiterated and updated his earlier instructions, this time addressing Jocelin of Wells, the incumbent bishop of Bath. Henry noted that either four or six other citizens of Bristol, all of honest and distinguished character, were to hear Ralph de Wiliton's account of the individuals under custody at the castle, of Eleanor herself, and of the items received from the issue of the bailiff of the castle and barton. The bishop and citizens were to deliver a clear report, both verbal and written, to the king.⁶¹

Henry's order for regular audits carries an implied desire to maintain a discernible degree of surveillance and thus control over Eleanor's custodial circumstances. A similar concern is implicit in the Bristol diet account of 1225-6, as well as in related records. Several expenses in the diet account hint at the use of locks, keys, and other security devices. The entry for 27 June 1225, for instance, notes an expense of 1*d.* to fix a door lock.⁶² A door key was purchased on 25 August 1225, and on 25 December of the same year, the household spent 4*d.* for a key to the tower.⁶³ A Close Roll entry in 1227 called for delivery of a key for Eleanor's room; the keys and lock mentioned in the diet account might well have served to keep Eleanor under some degree of controlled access and mobility.⁶⁴

Eleanor's situation as a case study presents a number of challenges to the conventional paradigms of the medieval household, among them questions of the basis of the household structure, its organizing principles, and its locus of authority. Previous studies have identified property rights, especially real estate, as a key factor in defining a household, while others have drawn attention to kinship and residence as critical elements. The conjugal unit has often been regarded as the fundamental element of the family, which, in turn, has undergone comparison and contrast with the household. Many have treated "family" as referring to a circle of individuals sharing ties by blood or marriage, while "household" has acquired the sense of a group sharing a residence and domestic life, including day-to-day functions and social interactions, together with processes of economic production to sustain the household as a whole. Stated more simply, the conventional practice has been to identify the

60 See *Constables of Bristol Castle*, p. xxvii-xxiv, as well as Woolgar's remarks on the account's condition in ed. Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol 1, pp. 126-27.

61 *RLC*, vol 1, p. 649 and vol 2, p. 71.

62 Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol 1, p. 129.

63 Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol 1, p. 134 (door lock); and vol 1, p. 144 (key to tower).

64 *RLC*, vol 2, p. 199b.

household as an essentially economic and social unit at the most basic level of society. Richard Smith offered a slightly different but useful approach, proposing that scholars consider the question, "What types of primary group fulfilled the basic functions of production, consumption, socialization, etc.?"⁶⁵

A second critical issue is the question of leadership in the household. Among a group's members, who carries the principal authority, and upon what condition is that authority based? The male conjugal partner, in a system of patrilineal inheritance, typically occupied the position of household head; in cases where the husband had died before his wife, his widow could take his place as head of the household in her own right.

In Eleanor's case, however, the same markers signaling a household unit are absent. Questions of property ownership or conjugal partnership are certainly not applicable, and the individuals comprising her household are associated with her primarily in service to her. As an economic unit, Eleanor's household is often treated as separate from that of the persons overseeing her care. Such separation is clear, for example, in the account of expenses at Bristol submitted by Ralph de Wilton for 1224-5, where Eleanor's staff are listed before Wilton's own staff, and so are distinguished from them.⁶⁶ In practice, however, for financial accounting purposes, separation between Eleanor's costs and those for the constable and others at the castle might well have been more porous. The total expenditure for staff that Wilton reported for the period 1224-5, £178 5s. 7d., was just 1d. less than the total costs reported for Eleanor in the 1225-6 account, which was £178 5s. 8d.⁶⁷ It is possible that some confusion between the two accounts led to the erroneous duplication of the figure. In any case, if the duplication was indeed a mistake, the apparent plausibility of the given sum for both the 1224-5 account, where Eleanor's costs seem to have been rolled into the total for Wilton's staff, and the 1225-6 account, which focused on the expenses of Eleanor's household, suggests that perhaps costs for Eleanor and those for the castle staff were separated by a more porous boundary than has been recognized. She and her staff received provisions from the king, and periodic entries in the Close and Patent Rolls attest that both

65 Richard M. Smith, "Some Issues Concerning Families and Their Property in Rural England, 1250-1800," in ed. Richard M. Smith, *Land, Kinship, and Life-Cycle* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 23.

66 *Constables of Bristol Castle*, p. 6.

67 *Constables of Bristol Castle*, p. 7; Woolgar, *Household Accounts*, vol 1, p. 150.

John and Henry consistently sent sums of money earmarked for Eleanor's expenses to her caretakers.⁶⁸

Two functions are especially important for the establishment and development of a noble household: possession of a source of income or revenue enabling the household unit to support itself; and the creation of the next generation. Both ensure the perpetuation of the household.⁶⁹ It is of critical significance that Eleanor's household lacked these very functions: she did not possess a source of income sufficient to sustain the household, nor was she in a position to provide material support for the group, and by the time of her confinement at Bristol Castle, there was little question of producing a new generation. John's and Henry's respective turns as the principal provider and the final authority for Eleanor's household effectively displaced Eleanor as would-be household head. As a non-married and childless aristocratic woman, separated from nuclear family members and extended kin (besides John and Henry, and contact with them possible only at their choice and initiative), sharing residence only with other confined individuals and people in service to her or overseeing her care, as well as those appointed to positions at the castle itself, Eleanor's situation defies conventional paradigms of the household and requires reconsideration of household models.

One way to do so is to revisit conventional portrayals of Eleanor's confinement. Thomas Bond, writing in 1883, characterized her as a "close prisoner" during her time in England; Thomas Duffus Hardy described her as a prisoner, as did Léon Guilloreau. The thirteenth-century chronicler Nicholas Trivet wrote of her time at Bristol Castle as an honorable detainment.⁷⁰ The *Lanercost*

68 Beyond the occasional references to clothing provisions and medical treatment already mentioned, I was unable to find further information concerning Eleanor's domestic servants. For a consideration specifically focused upon a staff of domestic servants in a royal context, see Caroline Dunn's article on Isabella of France's household retinue, including both male and female attendants, in this volume.

69 For these two criteria for households generally, see David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 142. Regarding the economic basis of the noble household, see Louise J. Wilkinson, "The Rules of Robert Grossteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth-Century England," in eds Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic, and Sarah Rees Jones, *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c. 850-c. 1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 293-306, esp. 293-94; and Christopher M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (London and New Haven, 1999), p. 8.

70 Bond, *History and Description of Corfe Castle*, pp. 10-11; Hardy, *Description of the Close Rolls*, p. 139; and Guilloreau, "Aliénor," pp. 266-7. In Trivet's words, "Joannes rex Anglorum Alie-noram, sororem Arthuri, in Angliam transtulit; quae, in castro Bristolli, honorifice exhibita, ibidem consenuit." Nicholas Trivet, *Annales sex regum Angliae*, p. 172.

Chronicle portrayed Eleanor's imprisonment in slightly stronger terms: according to the chronicle, Eleanor was detained in isolation, "priuatim detinebatur," under the custody of William Vypont, first at Marlborough Castle, then at Bowes, and then moved to Corfe Castle.⁷¹ *Lanercost*, however, should be treated with caution due to a number of inaccuracies in the text, among them an assertion that Eleanor lived at Corfe until her death.

More recent studies, however, have emphasized a more fine-tuned understanding of Eleanor's time under John and Henry's custody. Gwen Seabourne has supported and further expanded on the idea of an honorable confinement, noting that, in Eleanor's case, she became a target for capture and detainment because of her family ties, namely her position as sister of Arthur of Brittany, rather than any specific acts of wrongdoing.⁷² Nor was Eleanor alone in her circumstances of confinement: Henry III sent Isabel de Braose, widow of Dafydd ap Llywelyn, to Godstow Abbey following Llywelyn's death. There is no indication that Isabel herself had done anything wrong; her husband, however, had attempted armed resistance against Henry.⁷³ Nearly fifty years after Eleanor's time at Bristol Castle, but in a situation similar to that of Isabel, Gwenllïan, daughter of Eleanor of Montfort and Llywelyn ap Gruffud, prince of Gwynedd in northern Wales, was sent to a nunnery for life. Like Eleanor, Gwenllïan had not committed any illegal or questionable acts. Indeed, she was still an infant when Edward I sent her to Sempringham following the death of her father. Her culpability lay primarily in her connection to Llywelyn, who had helped lead an uprising against Edward.⁷⁴ Annette Parks also adopts the idea of honorable treatment, rather than incarceration, as the sole option facing Isabel.⁷⁵

Eleanor could have had a much tougher time of it, if one considers her case against other women's experiences. Women were placed under non-voluntary custody or as hostages outright for causes ranging from acts of treason and rebellion, and drastically harsher conditions of treatment under detainment were certainly possible. Matilda, the wife of William de Braose III, paid a high penalty after her husband fell from King John's favor and fled after attacking

71 *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, trans. Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), p. 12.

72 Gwen Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women: The Non-Judicial Confinement and Abduction of Women in England, c. 1170-1509* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 33-4.

73 Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women*, pp. 34-5.

74 Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women*, p. 35.

75 Annette P. Parks, "Rescuing the Maidens from the Tower: Recovering the Stories of Two Female Political Hostages," in eds Belle S. Tuten and Tracey L. Billado, *Feud, Violence, and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 279-91, esp. p. 285.

John's servants. Matilda and members of her family, including her children Matilda, Anora, and William de Braose IV, along with the younger William's wife and children, were imprisoned in 1210 on John's orders. Matilda and William IV ultimately perished by starvation.⁷⁶ John stated that Matilda had committed offenses against him, including failure to honor her promise to pay a substantial fine as redemption for her husband William's offenses, along with her refusal to surrender her child as hostage to John.⁷⁷ Another particularly infamous instance is the case of Mary Bruce, Marjorie Bruce, and Isabel, countess of Buchan. Edward I had the three women placed in wood and iron cages in 1306.⁷⁸ According to several accounts, Henry II was known to have raped or seduced, and, in at least one case, mutilated, noble female prisoners in his custody.⁷⁹ Such cases of abusive treatment were rare, however, and as noted earlier, Eleanor's care in confinement was comfortable and, as far as the records suggest, appropriate to her station as a member of the extended royal family.

The quality of her care aside, however, the idea of Eleanor's "household" is ultimately an illusory one. Despite aspects evocative of a household, including personal attendants and other co-resident domestic personnel, the apparent establishment of daily routines, day-to-day care and provisions, Eleanor lacked the financial independence and conjugal status that, as the present analysis suggests, were essential to the formation of a genuinely viable and self-perpetuating household. Gwen Seabourne has suggested that her confinement can be understood rather as a wardship, and it is this essay's contention that, in fact, the conditions of Eleanor's custody aligns more comfortably with the paradigm of wardship.⁸⁰

Documents providing direct access to Eleanor's own voice are exceedingly sparse, but one letter does survive, as discussed earlier. Eleanor addressed it to the bishops of Vannes, Nantes, and Cornuaille, Eudo de Pontchâteau, Geoffroy Espina, Oliver de Rougé, and Payen de Malestroît, and in it, Eleanor encouraged the men to travel to meet with King John. As she stated, such a visit would bring not only great honor and benefit to both sides, but would also, "per Dei gratiam," bring the favor of her own release.⁸¹ To that end, according to the letter, Eleanor had spoken with John, her uncle and had, through John, obtained

76 Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women*, p. 34.

77 Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women*, p. 34.

78 Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women*, p. 75. There is, however, a slight inconsistency among contemporary chronicles describing the fate of the Bruce women and Isabel.

79 Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women*, p. 74.

80 Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 80.

81 *RLC*, vol 1, p. 91; *Foedera: Conuentiones, Literae, et Cujusque Generis Acta Publica*, ed. Thomas Rymer, 17 vols. (London, 1816-69), vol 1, p. 101.

letters of safe conduct. Some caution, however, must be applied when reading this letter. As noted earlier, given its transmission via the royal Patent Rolls, John was almost certainly aware of the letter's existence. The extent to which John might have shaped the letter in drafting or editing it is unknown, but even with that variable in mind, the letter offers three useful points: first, that Eleanor perceived her custody as non-voluntary detainment; second, that at least in 1208, relatively early in her confinement, she sought release from her custody; and third, that John was receptive to negotiating for her release at that point in her confinement. John confirmed his willingness to do so shortly afterwards: in a letter dated 29 May 1208, two days following Eleanor's letter, he stated that he was granting the aforementioned bishops and magnates safe-conduct at his niece's request.⁸²

The suggestion, in Eleanor's letter of 1208, that she was able to exercise a certain power of persuasion upon her uncle is not to be overlooked. Even in custody, she had some influence over Henry as well. In a letter dated 28 February 1236 and addressed to William Talbot, one of Eleanor's keepers, Henry noted that Eleanor, "our dear kinswoman, living with you in our castle of Gloucester," had informed him of anger that she had held against Talbot's wife in the past, but also that, "because of the current holy season," she wished for reconciliation with Talbot's wife, and that "she wishes this in no small measure." In deference to Eleanor's wish, Henry ordered Talbot to have his wife come back to Eleanor, "to speak with her and remain with her as long as our kinswoman wishes."⁸³ The letter carries significant implications for our understanding of the connection between Henry and Eleanor and, more broadly, the complex nuances of the dynamics that might exist between the custodian and the confined individual. In the letter, Henry acknowledged that he might have issued an earlier order to have people, including Talbot's wife, removed from Eleanor, but that order was to be supplanted by his current instructions to bring the two women together in the interest of resolving their

82 "ad petitionem karissime neptis nostre," *RLP*, vol 1.1, p. 84a.

83 "Rex etc. Willelmo Talebot, salutem. Significauit nobis dilecta consanguinea nostra Alienora, commorans in castro nostro Glouc', per fratrem Ricardum de Becco quod licet aliquando erga uxorem uestram mota fuisset siue juste siue injuste, propter illud sacrum tempus nunc instans, cum eadem uxore uestra uellet reconciliari, et hoc non mediocriter affectaret. Et ideo uobis mandamus quod, non obstante aliquo mandato nostro quod uobis fecimus de ea uel aliis a consanguinea nostra predicta amouenda, eandem ad prefatam consanguineam nostram reuenire faciatis, habituram cum ea colloquium et cum ea moraturam, quamdiu eidem consanguinee nostre placuerit. Teste me ipso apud Wud', xxviiij. die Februarii." *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, vol 3, p. 342. For Gwen Seabourne's English translation in full, see "Eleanor of Brittany," pp. 103-4.

disagreement. In other words, Eleanor had sufficient influence upon Henry to have him insert himself in the situation and mediate on her behalf and to her benefit. Even as his charge, so to speak, she had his ear, and as Henry's letter demonstrates, she could and did wield this unique capacity with skill.

Eleanor: A Royal Ward

As this essay has endeavored to illustrate, Eleanor's captivity as a royal prisoner exhibited a number of characteristics evocative of a household: the diet accounts and chancery records attest that John and Henry, and their delegated officials, ensured that her material needs were met and even allowed her a discernible degree of comfort and luxury. Confinement-cum-imprisonment, then, in her case, did not necessarily correlate with punitive measures, deprivation, or more generally, rough treatment. Ultimately, however, given Eleanor's ultimate lack of economic autonomy, social restrictions, and curtailed marriage prospects, and thus her potential to create a family of her own, the circumstances of her confinement constituted a household which aligns uneasily, at best, with the conventional paradigms of the medieval household.

How, then, might we view Eleanor's captivity and relationship with John, Henry III, and the community that surrounded and sustained her during her tenure in confinement? Wardship, in the sense of provision for orphaned heirs in the form of guardianship over the heir's assets until s/he came of age, offers the closest fit for Eleanor's unique situation. Given the deaths of her parents Geoffrey (1186) and Constance of Brittany (1201), as well as that of her brother Arthur (likely 1203), Eleanor's strong position as potential (female) successor to the duchy of Brittany marked her, in John's and Henry's eyes, as an active participant in the larger political arena over which they presided, and therefore as a woman in need of supervision and control. The idea of Eleanor as a ward was certainly a real one: Philip Augustus requested custody over Eleanor as his ward from Henry II, but Henry rejected the request.⁸⁴ The Chancery Rolls frequently refer to Eleanor as under "custodia," which, as Seabourne points out, is the same word that *Glanvill* uses to refer to wardship.⁸⁵ At least

84 Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 155; Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 88; and William Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi: The Chronicles of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A. D. 1169-1192*, 2 vols. (London, 1867), vol 1, p. 353.

85 *Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England, Commonly Called Glanvill*, ed. and trans. G.D.G. Hall (New York, 1965; repr. Oxford, 2002), 7.12, p. 86; see Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 89.

one chancery record suggests as well that she was regarded as a dependent of the royal household: a wardrobe account from the 1230s lists Eleanor as a recipient of robes following the royal family but preceding other dependents and household staff.⁸⁶

An understanding of Eleanor's situation as a ward of John and Henry does not imply that they intended to keep her under confinement permanently. As discussed earlier, John's efforts to negotiate marriage alliances for her, along with his apparent willingness to discuss her possible release, suggest that an end to her captivity had been considered at several points. As with the concept of wardship itself, in which it is understood that supervision of the ward has a clear endpoint, namely when the ward reaches the age of majority or marriage, John's and Henry's treatment of Eleanor during her confinement indicates that her captivity, too, was not necessarily envisioned as permanent. Perceiving Eleanor as the focal point of a household obscures the contingencies of her lack of independence, self- and household-sustaining income, and her status as unmarried woman which meant that she was therefore unable to reproduce and continue the perpetuation of her household.⁸⁷ Adjusting our understanding of her situation to view her as a ward, then, rather than as the center of a household, provides a critical nuance that more accurately reflects her circumstances. During her long period of confinement, Eleanor's circumstances lacked specific criteria that are fundamental to current scholarship's understanding of a household; her status as a ward, however, implied that those same missing criteria, for example, income and reproductive capacity through marriage, were under negotiation, and that the possibility that these criteria would be met was therefore one that loomed nearby, tantalizingly within reach.

86 See TNA E 372/81 m. 28: recipients of robes included (in order): the king, the queen, the "Damsel of Brittany," 20 damsels, 250 knights, and servants and clerks. See Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 102, n. 218.

87 It should be noted that, in October 1235, Henry did assign to her the revenues of the manor of Swaffham to fund her almsgiving; however, he still issued her money for alms in 1237, so the income from Swaffham was likely not meant as a permanent financial arrangement for her alms-related expenses. See *Close Rolls* 1234-7, p. 150; *Close Rolls* 1237-42, p. 314; Seabourne, "Eleanor of Brittany," p. 102. Scott Waugh makes the valuable point that the king's act of arranging an heiress's marriage signaled that he recognized her claim to the property; the marriage was also his way of finding a suitable tenant to perform the services required as his tenant. These ramifications were sufficiently important that the king retained custody over the heiress until she married with his consent, regardless of her age. See Scott L. Waugh, *The Lordship of England: Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics, 1217-1327* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 67-68.

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“All my frendys fro me thei flee”: The Disgraced and Unstable Household of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester

Sally Fisher

Thorow-owt a palys as I gan passe,
I herd a lady make gret mone;
And euer she syghyd and said, “alas!
All erthly ioy is fro me gone.
ffor I am left my-self alone,
And all my frendys fro me thei flee;
Alas, I am full well of wone –
All women may be ware by me.

“THE LAMENT OF THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER”, ll. 1-8.¹



Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester was born Eleanor Cobham (c. 1400). Eleanor was the fourth child of Sir Reginald Cobham of Sterborough, Kent and his first wife, Eleanor.² The family had flourished under Edward III as a result of suc-

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1 Printed in *Historical Poems of the xivth and xvth Centuries*, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins (New York, 1959), pp. 176-80; manuscript details: Cambridge University Library, MS Hh. 4.12, fol. 89r - 91r. Hereafter cited as “Lament.” Although all citations are from Robbins, I acknowledge the assistance of the Department of Manuscripts and University Archives at Cambridge University Library in accessing the manuscript.

2 G.L. Harriss, “Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester (c.1400-1452),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004), pp. 27-28.

cess in the military arena and reached a parliamentary peerage position.³ Over the next two generations, however, the family slipped in status and were returned to the ranks of the gentry.⁴ Sometime around 1422, the year in which her mother died, Eleanor took up a position as a lady-in-waiting to Jacqueline of Hainault, a role which introduced her to the workings of an elite household.⁵ Jacqueline went on to become the first wife of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, uncle to the young Henry VI. Several years later, however, Humphrey secured a papal dispensation pronouncing the marriage invalid and, soon after, Eleanor and Humphrey were married (c.1428).⁶ With a manor at Greenwich serving as their principal residence, the couple enjoyed their position of high status for over a decade. In 1441, however, Eleanor was accused of felony and treason. One of the charges was sorcery, placing Eleanor's activities within the realm of witchcraft.⁷ Standing trial for her alleged crimes, Eleanor admitted to some of the charges laid against her and she was found guilty.⁸ Her punishment was an ecclesiastical one.⁹ Eleanor was divorced from Humphrey, stripped of her title, and ordered to perform a penitential walk through the streets of London.¹⁰ Eleanor was also sentenced to perpetual imprisonment,

3 Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), p. 133.

4 Saul, *English Church Monuments*, p. 133.

5 Harriss, "Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester." For recent work on ladies-in-waiting see Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, "Introduction" in eds Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe*. (Leiden, 2014), pp. 1-27.

6 Kenneth H. Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester: A Biography* (London, 1907), pp. 91-207, esp. pp. 196-202.

7 On studies of sorcery which refer to Eleanor's case see, for example, Kathleen Kamerick, "Shaping Superstition in Late Medieval England," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 3:1 (2008): 29-53. Kamerick suggests that the charges against Eleanor were politically motivated (pp. 34-35); H.A. Kelly, "English Kings and the Fear of Sorcery," *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977): 206-38, esp. 219-29. Kelly analyses the complicated language of the charges against Eleanor and the interplay between ecclesiastical and secular courts.

8 Ralph A. Griffiths, "The Trial of Eleanor Cobham: An Episode in the Fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester," in ed. R.A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1991), pp. 233-52, originally published in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51 (1969): 381-99. All references are to the 1991 publication. I am greatly indebted to Griffiths' work in drawing together the many disparate sources concerning Eleanor's life and her trial. Griffiths notes that Eleanor admitted to five of the twenty-eight charges laid against her (p. 241).

9 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 245.

10 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 246.

which saw her confined at different locations under the control of the king's household until her death at Beaumaris Castle, on 7 July 1452.¹¹

Despite some scholarly attention, the anonymous mid- to late-fifteenth-century poem "The Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester" is one of the lesser-studied sources for historical enquiry into Eleanor's life.¹² The first stanza of the anonymous poem introduces an unnamed woman alone in a palace, deserted by her friends. "The Lament" goes on to document the woman's disgrace and the associated loss of her household. The palace is revealed to be Greenwich, and Eleanor is identified as the woman in stanza four of the poem ("Of glowcestre I was duchesse").¹³ Her friends remain unnamed, an anonymity which is reinforced when others are referred to in the poem as, variously, "my souerayn lord", "my clerkys," and "my best frend."¹⁴ The poem is set in the period following Eleanor's 1441 trial and before her permanent removal from London in January 1442.¹⁵ As an account of Eleanor's rise and fall it describes her previous life at Greenwich without naming those who made up her household. Similarly, the poem tells of her banishment to Lerpole, but there is no mention of those who will accompany her there.¹⁶ Although the members of Eleanor's household are unnamed the poem is of particular interest for what it

11 Ralph A. Griffiths, "Richard, Duke of York and the Royal Household in Wales, 1449-1450," in ed. Griffiths, *King and Country*, pp. 265-76, at pp. 274-75, originally published in *Welsh History Review* 8 (1976): 15-24. All references are to the 1991 publication.

12 For examples spanning, and sometimes merging, literary and historical analysis see, for example, Tony Davenport, "Fifteenth-Century Complaints and Duke Humphrey's Wives," in ed. Helen Cooney, *Nation, Court and Culture* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 129-52; Jamie C. Fumo, "Books of the Duchess: Eleanor Cobham, Henryson's Cresseid, and the Politics of Complaint," *Viator* 37.1 (2006): 447-77; C. Marie Harker, "The Two Duchesses of Gloucester and the Rhetoric of the Feminine," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 30 (2004): 109-25; Kavita Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts: Gender, Genre, and Historiography, 1440-1627* (New York: 2012), esp. pp. 105-08; Maura B. Nolan, "Necromancy, Treason, Semiosis, Spectacle: The Trial of Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester," *Proteus* 13 (1996): 7-11, esp. p. 10; Sarah L. Peverley, "Political Consciousness and the Literary Mind in Late Medieval England: Men "Brought up of Nought" in Vale, Hardyng, *Mankind*, and Malory," *Studies in Philology* 105 (2008): 1-30, at p. 8.

13 "Lament," l. 27.

14 "Lament," l. 13, l. 57, l. 69.

15 For chronicle accounts of these months see, for example, Friedrich W.D. Brie, ed., *The Brut or the Chronicles of England, Edited from Ms. Rawl. B 171, Bodleian Library*, 2, 1971 ed. (London, 1908; New York, 1971), pp. 477-82 and pp. 508-09; William Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle, 1377-1461: A New Edition. Edited from Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21068 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 61-64.

16 "Lerpole" being Liverpool Castle, on the Isle of Man.

can tell us about contemporary understandings of elite households and the households of elite women who fell from grace.

Eleanor's trial was an event of considerable cultural significance. The first recorded accounts were produced by chroniclers, some of whom may have been witness to Eleanor's downfall.¹⁷ The poem draws on these chronicle accounts, working within the form of the lament to tell the story of Eleanor's loss.¹⁸ The person who commissioned "The Lament" is unknown.¹⁹ There are two extant versions of the poem; a seventeen-stanza version preserved as part of a fifteenth-century collection of early English poems, and a thirteen-stanza version included within a sixteenth-century commonplace book.²⁰ Written in English, it could have potentially reached a wide audience.²¹ Assuming a female (as well as male) reception, the closing line of each stanza is "All women may be ware by me," the poem may have been read within the walls of urban and gentry households whose members were also enjoying the rewards of recently acquired high status.²² Jamie Fumo remarks that the poem "was probably

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- 17 For example, see Brie, ed., *The Brut*; Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle*. See, too, Nina Levine, "The Case of Eleanor Cobham: Authorizing History in '2 Henry vi,'" *Shakespeare Studies* 22 (1994): 104-21, at p. 107. Levine remarks that it was Yorkist chroniclers who first recorded the story. See Griffiths, "The Trial," pp. 233-4, fn. 5. Griffiths notes that *The Brut* and *An English Chronicle* "must be indebted to an eye-witness account."
 - 18 Davenport, "Fifteenth-Century Complaints," p. 142.
 - 19 Davenport, "Fifteenth-Century Complaints," p. 136. See, too, David Lawton, "English Literary Voices, 1350-1500," in ed. Andrew Galloway, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 237-58, at p. 248. Lawton notes in respect to fifteenth-century writing that "we do not know about the currency and circulation of many texts."
 - 20 For this analysis, I refer to the version printed by Robbins (the seventeen-stanza Cambridge version) unless otherwise noted. See "Lament." For a printed version of the text in the commonplace book, see "Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester," in *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, ed. Thomas Wright, 2 (London, 1859-61), pp. 205-08. Manuscript details: Balliol, Oxford, no. 354. fol. 169v. On the two versions, see Fumo, "Books of the Duchess," pp. 461-62. Fumo considers the differences between the two, noting, too, that it is difficult to determine which version derived from the other.
 - 21 On the survival of only two manuscripts containing the poem, see Fumo, "Books of the Duchess," p. 472. Fumo remarks that this gives "an inaccurate sense of its popularity in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance."
 - 22 On reception, see Fumo, "Books of the Duchess," p. 458. Fumo suggests that it was viewed "as a companion piece to the courtly poetry of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, and as a contribution to the *contemptus mundi* tradition." Although the refrain addresses women, I suggest that the warning of the poem was directed to both women and men as a reminder of appropriate behaviour and household management.

composed soon after the events it describes.”²³ As such, it was circulating within 20 years of the trial, during a period of political uncertainty.²⁴ Henry VI’s opponents reportedly charged him of being ruled by his “couetous counseyll,” suggesting a royal household in disorder.²⁵ In this way, the description of Eleanor’s disgraced fictive household can be understood as a microcosm of national disorder.²⁶

Although elite and royal households have been recognized as productive sites for historical enquiry, households of elite women who fell from grace remain understudied.²⁷ In this chapter I explore a literary representation of the household of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester in order to analyze how disgraced and unstable households worked and were understood in late-medieval England.²⁸ The differences between fictive and real households are not as pronounced as might first appear. As Felicity Riddy has shown through her reading of the medieval advice poem “What the Goodwife Taught her Daughter,” literary texts can be rich sources for historical enquiry, highlighting societal concerns and desires.²⁹ Barbara Hanawalt comments on “The Lament” as the “negative side” of “The Goodwife,” remarking that it provides “a cultural reference” for ideal behavior.³⁰ The imagined household of “The Lament” operates in this way as a prompt for discussion about the historical household.

23 Fumo, “Books of the Duchess,” p. 447.

24 This was the period spanning Henry VI’s reign, his removal from the throne, and leading into Edward IV’s kingship and Henry VI’s brief readeption. See Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*; Michael Hicks, *Edward IV* (London, 2004); and Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974; 1997).

25 Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle*, p. 78.

26 Although it is not unusual that the poet is unknown, the politically provocative content could have contributed to the anonymity of both the author and commissioner.

27 For examples of elite households, see Fiona Kisby, “A Mirror of Monarchy: Music and Musicians in the Household Chapel of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Mother of Henry VII,” *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 203–34; Malcolm G. Underwood, “Politics and Piety in the Household of Lady Margaret Beaufort,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987): 39–52; A.R. Myers, “The Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, 1466–67,” in ed. A.R. Myers, *Crown, Household, and Parliament in Fifteenth Century England* (London, 1985), pp. 251–318. For an example of a disgraced elite household, see A.R. Myers, “The Captivity of a Royal Witch: The Household Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419–21,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 24 (1940): 69–84.

28 “Lament.”

29 Felicity Riddy, “Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text,” *Speculum* 71 (1996): 66–86.

30 Barbara A. Hanawalt, “Portraits of Outlaws, Felons, and Rebels in Late Medieval England,” in ed. Alexander L. Kaufman, *British Outlaws of Literature and History: Essays on Medieval*

The author of "The Lament" does not openly name the members of Eleanor's household but other contemporary sources can be incorporated to identify some of those who did belong to it. These references in the poem to members of Eleanor's household and descriptions of life within the palace at Greenwich reflect and reinforce cultural understandings of the elite household and how it should function. Reading the poem alongside contemporary chronicles and more prosaic documents such as household accounts, parliament rolls and warrants, it is possible to catch glimpses of how Eleanor's household may have worked before and after her fall. Alone, these scattered sources are not enough to reconstruct Eleanor's household. They do, however, contextualize the household represented in "The Lament," naming some of those "frendys" shrouded in anonymity in the poem and suggesting something of the nature of Eleanor's household at Greenwich and her experiences after her removal from London. Looking at the people who were associated with Eleanor, or those who were not, I argue that her household was represented as an inversion of the ideal late-medieval household and a warning as to the dangers of the powerful woman. In relation to wider insights about the monarchy, these references to Eleanor's household in "The Lament" can be read as an expression of broader understandings about women who rose to high status, weak husbands and, ultimately, weak kings.

"ffarewell, Grenewyche, for euer and ay"

The union between Eleanor and Humphrey was presumably one of mutual affection, made between two adults and apparently without the influence of family or friends. It was not, though, a marriage made between a man and a woman born into similar social ranks, and this was noted by contemporaries.³¹

and *Early Modern Figures from Robin Hood to Twm Shon Catty* (Jefferson, NC, 2011), pp. 45-64, at p. 60: "If the poem does not tell us the true history of Eleanor of [*sic*] Cobham, it does provide a cultural reference for the behaviour that a woman of her social class should have pursued."

31 See Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La Chronique D'enguerran De Monstrelet*, ed. Louis Douët d'Arcq, 4 (Paris: 1857-1862), pp. 270-71: "Et pour tant, le dessusdit duc de Glocestre, sachant ceste départie faite par nostre saint père le Pape, espousa et prinst en mariage une femme de bas estat au regard de luy, nommée Alyenor de Cobatre". For an English translation see Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *The Chronicles of Enguerrand De Monstrelet*, trans. Thomas Johnes, 1 (London, 1840), pp. 535-6: "The duke of Gloucester, on being informed of this sentence of the pope, took to wife a woman of low degree compared with his rank, named Eleanor Cobham."

Once married, however, Eleanor would almost certainly have become involved in the management of a large and important household.³² David Crouch draws attention to studies of noblewomen of an earlier period which demonstrate the “delegation of executive power to women in the absence of their husbands.”³³ This may also have been the experience of Eleanor and Humphrey. As Humphrey travelled to fulfil his governmental duties it is entirely probable that Eleanor managed the affairs of the household in his absence.³⁴ While the reality may have been a jointly-managed household with Humphrey exercising final control, “The Lament” represents a household which is ostensibly under Eleanor’s management. The depiction in “The Lament”, however, encourages the audience to consider this female-managed household as a site of disorder.³⁵ Such representation may have been more attributable to Eleanor’s position as controlling a household of far greater wealth and power than that to which she was born, and that it was a household without heirs, rather than her position as the sole household manager.³⁶ Eleanor’s assumed responsibility also removes

32 For a slightly later period, see Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002), p. 65: “[...] virtually all the substantial archives on Yorkist and early Tudor aristocratic families document wives who were actively engaged in managing their households and families.”

33 David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France: 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), p. 315. Although of lower status, Margaret Paston offers a contemporary example of female household management. Eleanor’s family had “slipped” from lesser nobility to gentry and the Paston experience of household management may have been of a sort familiar to Eleanor. See *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, eds Norman Davis, Richard Beadle, and Colin Richmond, 3 vols (Oxford, 2004-2005).

34 One such absence occurred during August 1436 when Humphrey was instrumental in the Burgundian siege. See David Grummit, *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England, 1436-1558* (Woodbridge, 2008), ch. 2: “The Burgundian Siege of 1436.”

35 Felicity Riddy, Cordelia Beattie, Charlotte Carpenter, Matthew Holford, Lara McClure and Sarah Williams “The Concept of the Household in Later Medieval England”, pp. 116-21, at p. 117 in Sarah Rees Jones, Felicity Riddy, Cordelia Beattie et al., “The Later Medieval English Urban Household,” *History Compass* 5: 1 (2007): 112-58. Remarking of “familia” and “hospitium” and their implied notion of authority, not necessarily a man’s, the authors argue that “it would be a mistake to assume that the idea of household authority was ungendered, or that woman as a household head was unproblematic.”

36 Although from an earlier period, cf. Adela of Blois. See Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (C.1067-1137)* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 4-6, “Adela and the Thibaudians.” Adela, as the daughter of William of Conqueror, was of higher social rank than her husband, Stephen-Henry. Adela’s household management during her husband’s absence while on Crusade could also be justified as serving the advancement of her family which, unlike Eleanor’s, included sons. See, too, the essay by Linda Mitchell in this volume in which Mitchell remarks on the absences of Joan’s husband, William, in relation to Joan’s household management.

Humphrey from any association with this inversion of the ideal household. As the poem reaches its mid-point, Eleanor confirms her split from Humphrey:

My best frend now is my foo,
My owne dere lord I dar not see;
Alas, that we shuld twynne in too –
All women may be ware by me.³⁷

As Riddy and others have shown, "the 'idea' of the household was neither fixed nor stable."³⁸ "The Lament" represents a household that has fallen victim to this instability to the extreme, demonstrated as Humphrey is removed, or usurped, from his position of power and Eleanor takes control. The poem confirms the instability of the household as it reveals that, despite marriage, the couple are now divided. Eleanor is left as the sole inhabitant of the palace; hers is the only voice in the poem, and she accepts responsibility and pays the price for her mismanagement of this elite household.³⁹ The consequences of disorder reverberate beyond the household, with Eleanor's goal written in the poem as a desire to "distroye" the king.⁴⁰

"The Lament" works on the assumption that Eleanor's household was once celebrated, and that Humphrey once oversaw the ideal elite household. For the poem to succeed as a prescriptive text, it is necessary to establish this image of the ideal household before it is destroyed.⁴¹ In the early stages of the poem Eleanor is depicted as surrounded by her many attendants ("I was be-sett on euery syde;") and dressed in the finery befitting a woman of high status ("In clothys of gold and garmentys gay").⁴² These two phrases encapsulate two features of an ideal household; the importance of relationships of kinship, friendship and service, and the visual display of the economic wealth of a well-managed household. A contemporary audience would surely have recognized these as aspects of the ideal household. In "The Lament," however, the associated dangers of a highly-populated household and excessive dress are also revealed as present in Eleanor's household. For example, Eleanor is portrayed

37 "Lament," ll.69-72.

38 Riddy et al., "The Concept of the Household," pp. 116-21, at p. 117.

39 See Mitchell's essay in this volume. Mitchell notes the role of the head of the household in determining the culture of the household.

40 "Lament," ll. 57-60.

41 "Lament."

42 "Lament," l. 26, l. 35. For recent work on dress, see Andrea Denny-Brown, *Fashioning Change: The Trope of Clothing in High- and Late-Medieval England* (Columbus, 2012).

as “be-sett on euery syde”, but those surrounding her are unnamed. In the poem, there is no evidence of Eleanor’s natal family serving in her household. Rather, the representation is one of strangers clamoring for her attention, creating a closed space conducive to intrigue and scandal rather than good governance. Similarly, Eleanor is dressed “In clothys of gold and garmentys gay” but her display of wealth is depicted as an expression of vanity, rather than an expression of her rank. Her attire is written as being at the expense of performing the charitable acts expected of a woman of her status: “I purchast fast from yere to yere, / Of poore men I had no pite.”⁴³ The ideal household is set up, only to be almost immediately torn down.

Throughout the poem it is Eleanor’s voice which the audience hears, and it is Eleanor’s household which is disgraced. It was Humphrey, however, who was responsible for elevating his wife to the position of duchess. The author of the poem does not withhold this information. Eleanor is not of noble birth and rose to her high status through marriage. This detail is provided in the second stanza: “ffor I that was browght up of noght, / A prince me chese to be hys make.”⁴⁴ After acknowledging their union, the poet goes on to separate Eleanor from Humphrey, ensuring that she is written as responsible for the disgrace of the household at Greenwich.⁴⁵ This separation is partly achieved by the description of Eleanor as being “left my-self alone,” at the beginning of the poem, a description which ensures Humphrey is never “present” in the text.⁴⁶ Stanza nine, though, confirms their separation in a most permanent manner, as the couple “shuld twynne in too –”.⁴⁷ Here is the inversion of the ideal household; a woman, not of noble birth, assumes a high position and proceeds to bring disgrace upon a once-celebrated household, usurping her husband in the process.

43 “Lament,” ll. 37–38.

44 “Lament,” ll. 11–12.

45 On this separation, see Alessandra Petrina, *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England: The Case of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 148–49.

46 Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts*, p. 107–08. Citing the MS Balliol 354 version of “The Lament,” Mudan Finn comments on “the poem’s deliberate choice to dissociate the Duke of Gloucester from Eleanor’s actions, focusing her vocalized critique upon herself for her ‘misgovernance’”.

47 “Lament,” ll. 69–71. The previous lines refer to Eleanor’s “best frend” and “owne dere lord”. As Humphrey is unnamed, the word ‘lord’ could also recall Henry VI. See Fumo, “Books of the Duchess,” pp. 461–62. Fumo remarks that “the conflation of her husband and her king as objects of betrayal seems to be intentional.”

Greenwich, located outside London on the banks of the Thames, was the principal and the most extravagant of Humphrey and Eleanor's residences. As a manor it had served as a royal residence in the past.⁴⁸ Humphrey acquired it after the death of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter (d. 1427). Kenneth Vickers remarks that, "(h)enceforth it was Duke Humphrey's favourite resort, and between 1432-1437 he transformed it into a far more important house than it had been hitherto."⁴⁹ Despite the terminology of the poem, there is no evidence that either Humphrey or Eleanor referred to it as a palace. Vickers notes that "(b)oth in official documents and in letters written from Greenwich this residence is called 'the manor of Plesauce.'"⁵⁰ The term "palys" fulfils a literary function in the poem and enables a comparison between how Greenwich was organized as a noble residence and how it was represented. This shift in description is mirrored in the poem as the representation of life at the "palys" more closely aligns with the ideal of courtly life. Eleanor is in control of an elite household but is seemingly behaving as though she were at court. Her behavior hints at transgression. The poem takes up this theme as Eleanor, stating "there myght no princes be my pere" and describing her life as a princess, admits to her plots to destroy the king, giving voice to a desire for a royal household.⁵¹

Greenwich does, however, appear to have been a palace in all but name. One of the most dramatic changes overseen by Humphrey was the acquisition of almost two hundred acres of land, from which was created a park surrounding the residence.⁵² This was a transformation which resulted in a more physically imposing site, while also creating a space of exclusivity, where access was likely to have been limited to those who belonged to the household or were invited guests. Greenwich as an enclosed place could also encourage rumor and speculation about life behind the manor walls in the absence of an open, visible environment. In addition, the residence was "embattled" and "towers and turrets" were built within the park, adding further distinguishing features to a building that ensured it could be identified from afar.⁵³

48 Vickers, *Humphrey*, Appendix D: Gloucester's Residences, pp. 444-46, at p. 444.

49 Vickers, *Humphrey*, p. 444. Humphrey's building works were not necessarily typical of the period. See Anthony Emery, "Late-Medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status," *Historical Research* 78 (2005): 140-61.

50 Vickers, *Humphrey*, p. 445.

51 "Lament," l. 34, l. 60: "Hym to distroye was owre entent." At this time, Eleanor was the highest ranked-woman in England, with Humphrey next in line to the throne.

52 Vickers, *Humphrey*, pp. 444-45.

53 Vickers, *Humphrey*, p. 444.

The magnificence of Greenwich extended beyond its extravagant architecture. It was also acknowledged as a center of culture, with visitors from both England and abroad.⁵⁴ Recognized as a patron of books and learning, Humphrey created at Greenwich a place which encouraged new ideas. These ideas could sometimes be controversial. Upon Eleanor's downfall this environment is appropriated by the author of "The Lament" to demonstrate the dangers of welcoming strangers into the household, excessive display, misgovernance and, above all, female rule over a household.

"The Lament" is an imagined reconstruction of Eleanor's household before her fall. Although "the frendys" are unnamed, descriptions in the poem can be set alongside other sources to identify members of Eleanor's real household. For example, "The Lament" features three references to clerks, highlighting their important role in the late-medieval household along with the dangers in associating with the wrong sort of clerks. In the first reference, Eleanor speaks as though all clerks are dangerous and untrustworthy:

All women that ar ware of wark,
My mischeue may 3e haf in mynd;
To gef credence to any clerk;
ffor so dyd I, and that I fynd⁵⁵

This idea is extended in the following stanza as Eleanor details her crimes:

My clerkys callyd up and downe,
All was but mischeue that they ment;
Owre souerayn lord and kyng with crowne
Hym to distroye was owre entent.⁵⁶

The shift is made from "any clerk" to "my clerkys." Three male accomplices, Roger Bolingbroke, Thomas Southwell, and John Home were accused alongside Eleanor. Bolingbroke, an Oxford priest, "was a member of Duke Humphrey's household and Eleanor's personal clerk;"⁵⁷ Thomas Southwell was "canon of St. Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster, rector of St Stephen, Walbrook, London, and vicar of Ruislip, Middlesex;" John Home was "canon of both

54 Petrina, *Cultural Politics*, p. 130; Susanne Saygin, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) and the Italian Humanists* (Leiden: 2002).

55 "Lament," ll. 49-52.

56 "Lament," ll. 57-60.

57 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 238, see, too, fn. 3.

Hereford and St. Asaph, and Eleanor's chaplain, who had acted as secretary for both Duke Humphrey and herself.⁵⁸ Hilary Carey, in her work on astrology at the court of Henry VI, explores the nature of Bolingbroke and Southwell's involvement in casting the king's horoscopes, noting their previous good reputations within the scholarly community.⁵⁹ Chronicle accounts provide further details on their crimes and their fates. *An English Chronicle* describes Bolingbroke as "a connyng mon in astronomy and in nygramancye" and that he "shulde labour to consume and waste the kynges person be way of nigramancie."⁶⁰ Under examination, Bolingbroke is said to have stated that he acted "atte þe sturyng of þe seide Dam Alienour."⁶¹ His fate was death.⁶² Southwell, found guilty of treason, died in prison before his punishment was meted out.⁶³ The third clerk, Home, was pardoned.⁶⁴ The council's treatment of these men suggests an awareness of the parameters of acceptable behavior within an occupation, along with the difficulties in defining what is acceptable and what is not.⁶⁵ The crimes of all three men are not the same but, collectively, they identify the extent of clerical misconduct within Eleanor's household; misconduct which Eleanor apparently instigated and oversaw. Importantly, "The Lament" groups these three men together, differentiating their behavior from that of other clerks and as the very opposite of the ideal household clerk. In the poem, Greenwich is represented as a place which fostered a wide variety of subversive activities. These activities are set up as an inversion of the ideal. The subversive and ideal collide in the final reference to clerks in the poem, which is at the moment of Eleanor's examination when she appears before "other clerkys of gret degre."⁶⁶ The actions of the clerks of Eleanor's household apparently originated within her household. The audience of the poem is transported from Greenwich to the site of Eleanor's examination, where they are introduced to the "ideal" clerks who will deliver Eleanor's punishment. In

58 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 239, see, too, fn. 1 and fn. 2.

59 Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (Houndmills, 1992), pp. 138-53. See, too, Robert Ralley, "Stars, Demons and the Body in Fifteenth-Century England," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 41 (2010): 109-16.

60 Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle*, p. 61.

61 Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle*, p. 62.

62 Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle*, p. 64.

63 Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle*, p. 63.

64 Home is not mentioned in Marx's edition of *An English Chronicle*. See *The Brut*, ed. Brie, p. 509.

65 See Carey, *Courting Disaster*, passim.

66 "Lament," l. 91; Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 241: "Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury, Cardinal Beaufort, Archbishop Kemp and the bishops of Salisbury, London, and Bath and Wells."

this final reference to clerks lies the reminder that, beyond Eleanor's household, clerks behave as they should, protecting the household and containing treasonous behavior.

Despite her speech in the poem being apparently directed towards women, "All women may be ware by me," Eleanor's household is represented as primarily consisting of men. A woman in charge of an elite household was expected to take advantage of her situation to employ female friends and relations, to teach younger women, and to care for older women who had fallen on difficult times.⁶⁷ These duties were required to maintain and assist in the perpetuation of the household and the family.⁶⁸ Barbara Harris's work on English aristocratic women in late-medieval and Tudor England highlights the importance of these female networks of power.⁶⁹ This responsibility is not fulfilled in the household depicted in "The Lament." Indeed, there is no mention of any of Eleanor's family in the poem, despite evidence that some of the Cobham men profited from her elevated position. For example, a knighting ceremony in 1426, prior to Humphrey and Eleanor's marriage, saw Eleanor's brother, Reginald, knighted by Henry VI.⁷⁰ A far richer reward for Eleanor's father came in May 1437, when "the Duke of Orléans was transferred from the custody of the Earl of Suffolk, who had been ordered to France, to that of Sir Reginald de Cobham, Gloucester's father-in-law."⁷¹ Eleanor's household as written in the poem omits any details of such family rewards, enabling it to stand in stark contrast to the ideal contemporary elite household.⁷²

67 Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992; 1995 ed.), Ch. 5: "Household Life."

68 See Caroline Dunn's essay in this volume. Dunn's analysis of the fourteenth-century household of Isabella of France, from her time as queen consort to dowager queen, outlines the role of Isabella's female household servants. Dunn explores Isabella's practice of encouraging continued loyalty and service from her household members through, for example, marital ties and the rewarding of privileges.

69 Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*; idem, "Sisterhood, Friendship and the Power of English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550," in ed. James Daybell, *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 21-50; and idem, "Aristocratic and Gentry Women, 1460-1640," *History Compass* 4 (2006): 668-86.

70 Vickers, *Humphrey*, p. 188.

71 Vickers, *Humphrey*, p. 248, fn. 4.

72 For example, Elizabeth Woodville's ability to use her position as queen to benefit her family, which is well-documented. See Michael Hicks, "The Changing Role of the Wydevilles in Yorkist Politics to 1483," in ed. Charles Ross, *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 60-86. See, too, Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 218. Harris lists the five female members of Elizabeth's family employed by her as ladies-in-waiting.

The representation of Eleanor's household in "The Lament" is not only unusual because of the absence of references to women or family employed, but also the lack of reference to children. This is a household spanning one generation only, therefore it cannot survive.⁷³ There were no recognized children from the marriage of Humphrey and Eleanor. The line, "Alas, that we shuld twynne in too—" could also be a veiled reference to childbirth, reminding the audience of Eleanor's failure to produce an heir.⁷⁴ Greenwich is described in the poem as a predominantly male household, overseen by a woman, upsetting established lines of female networks and, perhaps in the most powerful indictment of all, without children to continue the noble line. The poem's reference to childbirth is speculative, but Eleanor's absence of motherhood is mentioned in at least one chronicle account of the trial. A version of the *Brut* chronicle states that, when confronted with Bolingbroke's "instruments" of necromancy, Eleanor confesses "it was not so; bot þat she did it forto haue borne a child by hir lord, the Duke of Gloucestre."⁷⁵ If not explicit in the poem, Eleanor's unproductive body is brought to the fore under the public gaze of her examination.

Sorcery is mentioned in the poem ("That I had dolt with sorcery") but it is the chronicle accounts which provide the details, as Eleanor's fourth, and only female, accomplice is named as Margery Jourdemayne, also known as the Witch of Eye.⁷⁶ *An English Chronicle* uses Jourdemayne to construct a history of disgrace, with an associated implication that Humphrey cannot be blamed for these unfolding events. This is found when Margery Jourdemayne is described as a woman:

73 Again, see Dunn's essay in this volume. Although Isabella's household, in her final years, was presumably less extravagant, it remained a household of a woman who was royal by birth and had produced a son who became a king; Edward III. Eleanor's extravagant household of the poem is grounded in no such justification.

74 "Lament," l. 71. On "twynne" see Carolyn Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics* (Madison, 1989), Chapter 2: "The Naked Text in English to declare: The Legend of Good Women." Dinshaw considers Theseus's promise in The Legend of Ariadne, that he will not "twynne" from Ariadne which, of course, he does (p. 78). Dinshaw notes that the Middle English usage of "twynne" could also mean "to multiply by two" (p. 80), which I extrapolate here to suggest childbirth.

75 Brie, ed., *The Brut*, p. 480.

76 "Lament," l. 94; Brie, ed., *The Brut*, p. 478: "women þat ar called 'wicches'; "the wicche of Eye, beside Westminster" (p. 480). On Margery and her role in these events, see J. Freeman, "Sorcery at Court and Manor: Margery Jourdemayne, the Witch of Eye Next Westminster," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): 343-57.

whose sorcery and wichecrafte the seide Dame Alienour hadde longe tyme vsed, & be suche medisons and drynkes as the seide wiche made, the seid Alienor enforse the seide Duke of Gloucestre forto love her so moche that he wedded her.⁷⁷

As in the poem, the chronicle account portrays Eleanor as the instigator. This description implies a marriage built on deceit. Drawing on the trope of the seductress, Eleanor is written as a woman who has replaced Humphrey's first wife and infiltrated his household, only to usurp his position and destroy the household.⁷⁸ In the poem, details about Eleanor's sorcery are unnecessary in the light of her very public trial and punishment as the term alone is highly charged.⁷⁹

Eleanor's charge of sorcery, and the mention of it in the poem, can also be considered within the context of another high-profile woman of this period: Joan of Navarre.⁸⁰ Joan, as the second wife and queen of Henry IV, was Humphrey's stepmother. Griffiths remarks that "when Duke Humphrey made the arrangements for Queen Joan's funeral on 11 August 1439, Eleanor was a prominent mourner."⁸¹ Joan's past, however, included her own period of public disgrace, as she was imprisoned in 1419 for treason by sorcery and necromancy.⁸² Joan, like Eleanor, was accused of compassing the death of a king through

77 Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle*, p. 63.

78 See Davenport, "Fifteenth-century Complaints," p. 141. Davenport's discussion of the complaint for the first Duchess of Gloucester, Jacqueline of Hainault, draws attention to "suspicion" of Eleanor as an "enchantress" and that this "was enough to generate the imagery of mermaid and Circe and her accompanying band of witches."

79 See Levine, "The Case of Eleanor Cobham," p. 104: Levine refers to "the familiar narrative of virago witch-traitor."

80 Myers, "The Captivity of a Royal Witch," pp. 276-77. Myers also mentions St Joan, in 1431, and the Duke of Clarence in 1477 as instances where "English statesmen would turn to account for political purposes accusations of sorcery, which many people genuinely believed." As an aside, "The Lament" might also be referring to the example of St Joan when Eleanor states, in l. 127, "That bothe in englond and in fraunce / All women may be ware by me." The first line couples all women in England and France but could also couple one woman in England, Eleanor, and one woman in France, Joan, through the accusation of sorcery.

81 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 235.

82 Myers, "The Captivity of a Royal Witch," pp. 263-65.

the employment of accomplices in her household.⁸³ As the widow of Henry IV, Joan was the sole-manager of her household at the time. The charge against her could possibly be explained as an attempt by Joan's opponents to respond to rumors surrounding the king's fate and simultaneously curtail her power as the widow of a king.⁸⁴ Joan, unlike Eleanor, was held as a prisoner for nearly three years. Furthermore, as A.R. Myers has shown through an analysis of her household accounts for this period, despite the removal of her servants and property "her imprisonment was not by any means a burdensome one."⁸⁵ The experience of Joan of Navarre, and her association with Eleanor could, however, be understood as contributing to Eleanor's fate. The absence of further detail in "The Lament" about sorcery fits with the more general intent of the poem, as Eleanor's imagined household is used to craft a prescriptive text which depicts the inversion of an ideal household.

"The Lament" closes with Eleanor admitting her failure:

ffarewell, I wote I haf do wrong
And all I wyte mys gouernance.⁸⁶

Eleanor's misgovernance encompasses both her personal misconduct and her mismanagement of this elite household.⁸⁷ These words acknowledge Eleanor's recognition that she held a position of power, but did not perform as she ought. There was, for example, a fine line between appropriate and excessive display and "The Lament" depicts Eleanor as overstepping this line.⁸⁸ Having bid farewell to her "lord and souerayne" in the preceding stanza, the consequences of Eleanor's behavior are understood as moving beyond Humphrey and impacting upon her king. After Humphrey's death the residence at Greenwich was inhabited by Henry VI.⁸⁹ The site was proven to be temporary after all. In the years before Henry VI married Margaret of Anjou and became the father of an heir to the throne, Humphrey and Eleanor occupied a place which had once been the

83 Myers, "The Captivity of a Royal Witch," pp. 264-65. Joan's accomplices were Roger Colles and John Randolph.

84 Myers, "The Captivity of a Royal Witch," pp. 273-76.

85 Myers, "The Captivity of a Royal Witch," p. 265. Myers notes periods of Joan's imprisonment during which she "was living in great comfort" (p. 266).

86 "Lament," ll. 123-24.

87 See also Fumo, "Books of the Duchess," p. 451. Fumo argues for the place of sexual misgovernance in Eleanor's understanding of her loss.

88 See Mitchell's essay in this volume, in which Mitchell finds that Joan de Valence appears to achieve such balance.

89 Vickers, *Humphrey*, p. 445.

residence of kings, and was to revert to kings. The household at Greenwich, as depicted in "The Lament," provides insights into the place of the monarchy as an institution in this period. During these years of Henry VI's reign it appears that there was a place for an elite household which might "stand in" for the royal household but, in this instance, with Eleanor in control, the household is represented as one which tipped over into disorder, threatening the very life of the king.

Both the composition of "The Lament" and Eleanor's death precede the onset of Henry VI's illness in 1453, described by Griffiths as "a severe mental collapse, accompanied by a physical disablement."⁹⁰ The poem was, however, circulating during this period and its reception was surely shaped by widespread awareness of the king's inability to perform his role.⁹¹ In the absence of a medical diagnosis for Henry VI's illness, at least two separate stories alluding to sorcery appeared in explanation for why the king had "no natural sense or reasoning power."⁹² While the royal house was in a state of disorder, a poem was circulating which told the story of a noble household in disorder. One of the results of Eleanor's misgovernance is written as her own diminished mental state: "Now ar my wittys all in were."⁹³ As the poem circulated around the time of Henry VI's illness, or even in the years immediately after his recovery, the audience may well have been thinking of the king's household in disorder and how his "wittys" had also been in danger. As these associations between illness and sorcery were brought to the fore, the effects of Eleanor's alleged sorcery against the king may have endured beyond her death.⁹⁴

"At lerpole there must I nedes byde –"

The poem concludes Eleanor's story as she is about to leave London. In stanza fourteen, Eleanor bids a permanent farewell to Greenwich and, three lines on, her removal to Lerpole is described:

90 Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, p. 715.

91 Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, p. 717. Griffiths writes of the "universal joy that doubtless the entire realm felt when the king recovered at Christmas 1454."

92 Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, p. 716, and p. 758, fn. 8, citing J.A. Giles, ed., *Incerti scriptoris chronicon Angliae de regnis ... Henrici IV, Henrici V, et Henricie VI* (1848), p. 44 (*nec sensus naturalis nec virtualis ratio regiminis*). See R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (London, 1966), p.136. Storey remarks that two approvers from Southwark "attributed the collapse to necromancy."

93 "Lament," l. 39.

94 Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, p. 717-8. Griffiths also considers the fullness of Henry VI's recovery, drawing attention to a number of indicators that it was not complete.

I am sygned where I shalle be;
At lerpole there must I nedes byde – ⁹⁵

What, then, of Eleanor's household after her fall? In addition to a period at "Lerpole" Eleanor's final years were spent in a number of other noble residences.⁹⁶ In January 1442, Eleanor was conveyed from London to Chester Castle under the care of Thomas Stanley, controller of the king's household. In October 1443, she was moved from Chester Castle to Kenilworth, then to the Isle of Man in July 1446 and, finally, to Beaumaris Castle in Wales in March 1449, where she died on 7 July 1452.⁹⁷ Throughout these years, Eleanor remained under Stanley's control, although not always under his direct care.⁹⁸ Eleanor received an allowance and she had servants during her final years.⁹⁹ While the poem can be dated prior to these events, a brief overview of sources relating to the last years of Eleanor's life indicate that the idea of her household remains of continued cultural significance, albeit contested. Eleanor's experiences during her imprisonment illustrate, yet again, a type of disgraced and unstable household. This time, however, contemporary sources create a form of the travelling elite household and a household contained by the monarchy.¹⁰⁰ Although the poem does not explore Eleanor's life after her fall, other evidence demonstrates a continued concern with Eleanor's power and a desire to depict any sort of household attached to her in a certain way. These sources use Eleanor to highlight the danger of a powerful woman through the image of the household and, at the same time, the ability of the monarchy to exercise control over her.

Eileen Kim's essay on Eleanor of Brittany, in this volume, provides another example of an unexpected household centered around a woman whose state was contested and who was understood as a threat to the monarchy. Kim's analysis of the experience of Eleanor of Brittany provides an example against

95 "Lament," ll. 110-11. In the Balliol version, there is no mention of Lerpole. See Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, "Lament," ll. 77-78: "I am assigned where I shalle be; / Under mens keepyng I must abide."

96 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 248, fn. 2.

97 Griffiths, "The Trial," pp. 248-49; and Griffiths, "Richard, Duke of York," pp. 274-75.

98 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 249; and Griffiths, "Richard, Duke of York," p. 275. Stanley was constable of Chester Castle; Lord Sudeley, chamberlain of the Household, was constable of Kenilworth Castle; Stanley was lord of the Isle of Man, and Sir William Beauchamp was the constable of Beaumaris castle.

99 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 248, fn. 2; and p. 249, fn. 1.

100 See, for example, the essay by Mitchell in this volume which discusses the itinerant nature of the household of Joan de Valence.

which Eleanor's life after her downfall might be set. Reading these two case studies alongside each other sheds light on the similarities and differences between the two women, while also highlighting the enduring idea of the control of the household as mirroring the control of the realm, and that the household of a powerful woman must be contained.¹⁰¹

"The Lament" represents Eleanor's removal from London as a sort of death. In the final stanza, Eleanor's extreme change in circumstance is given voice: "All worldly Ioy I here forsake."¹⁰² Following her public humiliation and the loss of her title, Eleanor experiences the end of her life as a noblewoman and leaves her household at Greenwich behind. One chronicle account draws on the imagery of the funeral procession to write Eleanor's departure, describing her removal "in an hors-bere."¹⁰³ Eleanor does not, however, travel alone. As the chronicler writes of the dramatic storm accompanying Eleanor's departure, reference is made to the "strenght of peple" who went with her.¹⁰⁴ Eleanor's leaving is a very public performance. It is certainly comparable to a funeral procession, and it also calls to mind the elite travelling household as a display of magnificence, played out here in absolute reverse. In this display only the vestiges of an elite household remain. Eleanor departs from London, as a prisoner, with a yearly allowance of 100 marks.¹⁰⁵ "The Lament" catalogues the loss of Eleanor's magnificent clothing:

ffarewell, damaske and clothys of gold,
ffarewell, velwette and clothys in grayne,
ffarewell, my clothys so manyfold,
ffarewell, I se 3ow neuer agayne.¹⁰⁶

The poem's depiction of Eleanor's separation from her material possessions is reinforced, albeit in a different way, in chronicles and official sources. Eleanor might continue to manage a household of sorts, she has income and attendants, but it is a shadow of her former household at Greenwich. To return to the example of Joan of Navarre, both Eleanor and Joan are dramatically

101 See Kim's essay in this volume.

102 "Lament," l. 130.

103 Brie, ed., *The Brut*, p. 482.

104 Brie, ed., *The Brut*, p. 482. On Eleanor's departure and the weather see Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing. With an Annotated Edition of Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives Ms 32d86/42* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 74-77.

105 Griffiths, "The Trial," pp. 248-49.

106 "Lament," ll. 113-6.

removed from society as part of their punishment, but neither are dead.¹⁰⁷ Joan's captive household is allowed many of the former possessions which marked it as being of high status; for Eleanor's this does not appear to be the case. While those in power enact a stripping of material possessions as would occur in death, the households of these women must be either returned to something of their former state or handed over to another to ensure their survival. For Joan, it was the former; for Eleanor, the latter. It also appears that it is important for Eleanor's reduced household to be recorded in chronicles and official documents.

Eleanor's household from this point on is not, at least legally, overseen by Eleanor. Whether her state is one of exile or imprisonment, Eleanor does not have the freedom to move from place to place as she desires and she is subject to the king's command.¹⁰⁸ The removal of Eleanor's authority can be set against the image of Eleanor created by the author of "The Lament." *An English Chronicle* is clear about Eleanor's loss of control:

And after this, sho wasse committed be the kynges commaundement to the warde of Ser Thomas Stanley wherein sho wasse all hir liffetyme, havynge yerly C marcis assigned vnto hir for hir ffyndynge and expenses, whose pride, fals coveties, and lichery, were cause of hir confusion.¹⁰⁹

A letter of warrant from Henry VI to the Bishop of Bath, dated 1441, confirms that Eleanor is in the "keping" of Stanley and that Eleanor and Stanley are "accompanied with certain personnes of oure household."¹¹⁰ The warrant serves as a means of dissemination beyond London of the information that

107 Myers, "The Captivity of a Royal Witch," p. 264. Joan was deprived of her dowry and all her other possessions.

108 The language used to describe Eleanor's punishment varies across sources and I pursue this elsewhere. See Sally Fisher, "Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester: Chronicles and Ideas of Exile and Imprisonment in Fifteenth-Century England," *Parergon* 34:2 (forthcoming). On women and imprisonment in this period, see Gwen Seabourne, *Imprisoning Medieval Women: The Non-Judicial Confinement and Abduction of Women in England, c.1170-1509* (Farnham, 2011).

109 Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle*, p. 64. The chronicler defines Eleanor's status as ward, and as enduring for her lifetime, without any acknowledgement of the problematic nature of this categorization. See Eileen Kim's essay in this collection, in which Kim rightly notes that wardship was not a permanent state.

110 Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, 2 ser. 1 (London, 1827), Letter xxxv "Letter of Warrant from King Henry the viith to the Bishop of Bath, his Chancellor, in 1441, concerning the exile of Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester," pp. 105-109, p. 107.

Eleanor is very much under the control of the king and her travel cannot be mistaken for the usual procession of an elite household. The warrant also expresses concern that Stanley be assisted in his duty along the way and that those assisting him do not let Eleanor influence them to her own advantage.¹¹¹ Despite the curtailed state of any household which might be attached to Eleanor, apparently numbering twelve persons, the language of the warrant indicates that she remains a perceived threat to the monarchy.¹¹²

Eleanor had arrived at Chester Castle by February 1442, when an agreement was drawn up between those who had previously been responsible for her, and Stanley, as constable of Chester Castle.¹¹³ Eleanor left Chester in late 1443 and was moved to Kenilworth. The annual allowance of 100 marks allocated to meet Eleanor's expenses is not a large amount, but it was supplemented on at least one documented occasion. While she was imprisoned at Kenilworth, one of the king's household accounts details a gift of "valuable" bed furnishings to Eleanor.¹¹⁴ Such a gift indicates that despite her geographical distance from London, Eleanor was not forgotten by the king and was still under the overall care of the king's household. Eleanor's time at Kenilworth came to an end in 1446 when Stanley was ordered to convey her to the Isle of Man, a location which is reflected in the *Brut's* reference to Eleanor being kept here, albeit five years after her departure from London.¹¹⁵ Following Humphrey's death in 1447, an Act of Parliament confirmed that Eleanor was not entitled to any claim upon her dower, and that any goods that belonged to Humphrey be treated "as if the said Eleanor were dead."¹¹⁶ Eleanor also continued to be excluded from

111 Ellis, ed., *Original Letters*: "that thei lette not, for sekenesse or ony dissumulacion of hir, to carie hir thedir as we have appointed."

112 For this number, see F.W.D. Davies, ed., *An English Chronicle from 1377 to 1461* (London: 1856; rpt, New York: 1968), p. 190.

113 Griffiths, "The Trial," pp. 248-49.

114 Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 249, fn. 2. See Kim, "Eleanor of Brittany," in this volume. Kim notes that bedding was included in a list of items provided for Eleanor of Brittany and Isabelle of Scotland and that these items are part of a provision of care and acknowledgement of status.

115 Brie, ed., *The Brut*, p. 482; Griffiths, "The Trial," p. 249. Griffiths remarks that this was "possibly in response to such rumoured attempts to free her."

116 A. Curry, ed., "Henry VI: Parliament of February 1447, 'Text and Translation,'" in *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. C. Given-Wilson et al., item 17. Scholarly Digital Editions, Leicester: 2005, <<http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME>, accessed 14 August 2015.>

pardons, indicating that she was understood as an enduring threat.¹¹⁷ Eleanor may well have been seen as a threat to the king and his new queen, Margaret of Anjou.¹¹⁸ Eleanor's movement across locations can be understood as a defensive act which sought to deny any of Eleanor's remaining supporters access to her.

Eleanor was moved one last time, in 1449, to Beaumaris Castle in Wales, where she remained until her death in 1452.¹¹⁹ All evidence indicates that Eleanor's movements throughout her years of imprisonment, from Chester to Kenilworth, to the Isle of Man and, finally, to Beaumaris Castle were carefully orchestrated. Griffiths, although careful not to make too much of the connection, considers that Beaumaris was more secure than the Isle of Man and raises the possibility that Richard, Duke of York may have sought to seize Eleanor from Beaumaris upon his return to England in 1450.¹²⁰ Such an act would have strengthened the Duke's connection to Humphrey which would, in turn, have furthered his claim on Henry VI's throne.¹²¹ Of course, this did not eventuate.¹²²

In the decade spanning her departure from London to her death, Eleanor and her vestiges of an elite household remained important in depictions of the monarchy as an institution.¹²³ As Eleanor and her small group of attendants were moved across the country they served as a reminder to those they may have encountered of the consequences for treasonous behavior. Eleanor's disgraced household was apparently contained under the rule of the king's

117 United Kingdom, The National Archives Website, General Pardon, D/WLC/F2, Item 21. Available at: <<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/78deg12b-238e-458e-96c3-01f821c8cebd>>; accessed 14 August 2015.

118 Margaret of Anjou's position as queen was, arguably, never entirely secure. See, for example, Patricia-Ann Lee, "Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986): 183-271. For recent work considering contemporary depictions of Eleanor and Margaret of Anjou, see Kavita Mudan Finn, "Tragedy, Transgression, and Women's Voices: The Cases of Eleanor Cobham and Margaret of Anjou," *Viator* 47 (2016): 277-303.

119 Griffiths, "Richard, Duke of York," pp. 273-75. The absence of detail surrounding Eleanor's death can be partially attributed to her disgraced position and was compounded by her geographic isolation.

120 Griffiths, "Richard, Duke of York," p. 274.

121 Griffiths, "Richard, Duke of York," p. 274. On the importance of security see Kim's essay in this volume.

122 Griffiths, "Richard, Duke of York," p. 275.

123 See also Fumo, "Books of the Duchess," p. 457: "Her case, then, remained a live issue for over a decade."

household throughout this period. However, it was also still employed as part of a wider public performance, moved from residence to residence, most likely visible on the roads travelled and, presumably, in the castles inhabited. "The Lament" sets up the ideal elite household in order to depict Eleanor's misgovernance of it and represents her behavior as a threat to the king. In contrast, the travelling and contained household associated with Eleanor in her final years is used as part of a wider display of Henry VI's power to control his subjects. In doing so, the significance of the household as a site for good governance and restraint is brought to the fore, in both prescriptive and descriptive texts.

Conclusions: An Inversion of the Ideal Late-Medieval Household

"The Lament" draws on real events to craft a literary depiction of an elite household in disorder. The difference between the fictive and the real is shown to be not as pronounced as may be expected, with the poem providing telling insights into contemporary understandings of the ideal late-medieval household and the potential dangers of female power. The poet describes life at the palace at Greenwich, drawing on elements of the ideal elite household, only to show it collapsing into disorder under Eleanor's misgovernance. In this way, the fictive household of "The Lament" becomes an inversion of the ideal late-medieval household.

Although the poem does not elaborate upon Eleanor's household after her fall, descriptive sources indicate that it was important that the vestiges of her household were represented as enduring. These other sources confirm a shared fear of the late-medieval household in disorder; a fear that found voice beyond the poetic form. Such cross-genre analysis demonstrates a widespread cultural understanding of the importance of good governance of the elite household, the apparent consequences of misgovernance spreading from the household to the throne, and that Eleanor and her household become the means through which all households could be warned of the dangers of a powerful woman.

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Serving Isabella of France: From Queen Consort to Dowager Queen

Caroline Dunn

In 1358, the dowager queen of England was dying. She was in her mid-sixties and had lived a more eventful life than many queens. Brought up at the French court and married to Edward II of England at the age of twelve, life took a dramatic turn for Isabella when she and her lover, Roger Mortimer, staged a coup against the king and placed her young son on the throne while she served as effective queen-regent of England between 1327 and 1330.¹ Her remaining decades were quieter, but Isabella was by no means as permanently secluded (or imprisoned) as earlier chroniclers alleged.² On her deathbed at Hertford castle on 22 August 1358, Isabella was attended by Joan of Bar, countess of Surrey, who had been her longstanding attendant and confidante for most of the years since Isabella's arrival in England. The former queen was probably also surrounded by all or most of the eight ladies and damsels known to have been in her service the previous January: Agnes Paumart, Isabella de St. Pol, Joan de Corby, Marie Whithors, Katherine Bronart, Matilda Bret, Margaret Bedyk, and Agnes Anget. Although the number of attendants was not significantly lower than the thirteen ladies and damsels who earned livery for waiting upon the young queen in 1311, their degrees of status, as we will see, were not comparable.

Although Isabella's life is well documented and her role as queen has been assessed by both scholarly works and popular biographies, the identities, duties, and experiences of her household attendants have been little explored.

1 Lisa Benz St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (New York and Basingstoke, 2012), *passim*, but esp. pp. 135–63; Natalie Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321–1326* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 180–227; and Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven and London, 2010), *passim*.

2 Jean Froissart, “Chronicles, Translation of Book 1,” in *The Online Froissart*, trans. Keira Borrill, eds Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, ver. 1.5 (Sheffield, 2013) <<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart>>, accessed 6 June 2015, fol. 23v; Edward A. Bond, “Notices of the Last Days of Isabella, Queen of Edward the Second,” *Archaeologia: Or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 35 (1853): 453–5; St. John, *Medieval Queens*, p. 127. For the household of a disgraced noblewoman, see Sally Fisher's article in this volume.

This is also true of other medieval ladies-in-waiting. While queenship has enjoyed a revival of scholarship in the past two decades,³ the courtiers and household servants – particularly female ones – who waited upon medieval English queens remain in the shadows.

The king's male courtiers have been examined in several important studies that illuminate royal service and its rewards.⁴ Other scholars have analyzed the lives of noblewomen more broadly, not just during their times in service,⁵ but, apart from famous examples such as Alice Perrers, mistress of Edward III, and Geoffrey Chaucer's wife Philippa,⁶ analysis of female service at the royal court largely begins with the Tudor era.⁷ Hilda Johnstone, writing in the first

- 3 St. John, *Medieval Queens*; Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2001); Joanna Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship, 1445-1503* (Oxford, 2004); Helen Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003); John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York, 1995); Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 2013); idem, "Where Do We Go From Here? Some Thoughts on Power and Gender in the Middle Ages," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 51:2 (2015): 116-31.
- 4 Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, 1986); Rosemary Horrox, "Caterpillars of the Commonwealth: Courtiers in Late Medieval England," in eds Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker, *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England* (London and Rio Grande, 1995), pp. 1-16; A.R. Myers, *Crown, Household and Parliament in Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 1985); Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-west Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2003).
- 5 See Linda Mitchell, *Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Social Relationships in Thirteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke, 2003) and her article in this volume; and Ralph A. Griffiths, "The Trial of Eleanor Cobham: An Episode in the Fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51 (1968-9): 381-99.
- 6 For Perrers, see James Bothwell, "The Management of Position: Alice Perrers, Edward III, and the Creation of a Landed Estates, 1362-1377," *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998): 31-51; W.M. Ormrod, "Alice Perrers and John Salisbury," *English Historical Review* 123 (2008): 379-93; idem, "Who Was Alice Perrers?" *The Chaucer Review* 40 (2006): 219-29; Laura Tompkins, "The Uncrowned Queen: Alice Perrers, Edward III and Political Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England, 1360-1377," PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2013, pp. 41-44. I thank Laura Tompkins for sharing her thesis with me. For the Chaucers, see Margaret Galway, "Philippa Pan, Philippa Chaucer," *Modern Language Review* 55 (1960): 481-7; James R. Hulbert, "Chaucer's Official Life," PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1912, pp. 58-9; and Russell Krauss, "Chaucerian Problems: Especially the Petherton Forestship and the Question of Thomas Chaucer," in *Three Chaucer Studies* (New York, 1932).
- 7 Jeri L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor* (New York, 2008); Charlotte L. Merton, "The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Maids of the Privy

half of the twentieth century on the intricate administrative, financial, and logistical workings of the queen's household, and Barbara Harris, whose study of aristocratic women includes a chapter exploring the careers of female courtiers between 1450 and 1550, offer the primary exceptions.⁸

Although the lives of the king's courtiers and servants are better documented, female household attendants appear in the same kinds of surviving sources: the neglected investigation of medieval ladies-in-waiting seems more due to disinterest than insufficient evidence. The main sources available for such an investigation are institutional: exchequer manuscripts provide records of payments and crown letters reveal appointments, rewards, and privileges earned by household servants.

Exchequer documents, particularly the accounts of the King's Remembrancer, classified at E 101 in the National Archives, provide many useful sources for the study of royal ladies and damsels. The Wardrobe and Household Subseries of E 101 contains the most references, outlining grants of livery made to household members from the Royal Wardrobe and listing payments made to attendants and presents granted to or from them. These sources are patchy; sometimes we find records of household attendants in the queen's wardrobe records; sometimes the king's and queen's households were combined. For Isabella, we fortunately have household accounts that survive from the beginning and end of her lifetime.⁹ The Issue Rolls (classified at E 403) and related Warrants for Issues (E 404) record payments made out of the Lower Exchequer and include numerous references to annuities awarded to the queen's damsels and other royal servants.

Copies of letters sent out from the crown, collected into the published Calendars of Close Rolls and Patent Rolls, also provide information about female attendants.¹⁰ In particular, the Close Rolls record grants of corrodies

Chamber, 1553-1603," PhD dissertation, Cambridge, 1992; Anna Whitelock, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court* (London, 2013).

- 8 Hilda Johnstone, "The Queen's Household," in ed. T.F.T. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals* (Manchester, 1930), 5: 231-89; idem, "The Queen's Household," in eds J.F. Willard and W. Morris, *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336* (Cambridge, MA, 1940); Barbara Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002).
- 9 British Library (hereafter BL), London, MS Cotton, Nero C VIII, fols. 121-52, printed in *The Household Book of Queen Isabella of England for the Fifth Regnal Year of Edward II, 8th July 1311-7th July 1312*, eds F.D. Blackley and G. Hermansen (Edmonton, 1971); The National Archives, United Kingdom (hereafter TNA), E 101/375/9 (Isabella's Wardrobe book for 1313-14); and BL MS Cotton Galba E XIV (Isabella's household accounts, 1357-58).
- 10 *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1272-1509* (hereafter CCR) (London, 1892-1963; repr. Nendeln, 1972); and *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the*

(maintenance at religious institutions) to retiring servants, while the Patent Rolls document annuity grants and other privileges, such as royal pardons, offered to royal household members.

Unfortunately, there are no diaries offering personal insight into court culture or the experiences of medieval ladies-in-waiting – these appear only in the modern era. And no surviving letters document the selection or daily life of female attendants until the Lisle collection reveals how Lord Lisle's daughters were selected for service in noble and royal households during the 1530s.¹¹ There are some references to waiting women in the Paston, Plumpton, and Stonor letter collections from the Middle Ages,¹² but they, like the household records of Lady Elizabeth de Burgh and Dame Alice de Bryene, reveal the experiences of lesser-status servants serving gentlewomen and noblewomen, rather than experiences at court.¹³

By combing through the surviving sources, however, one can build a prosopographical study of medieval English ladies-in-waiting, specifically, in this case, Isabella's household servants. In rare cases, sources survive that allow short biographies of prominent noblewomen, but compiling a collective biography of a group of servants lets us explore and analyze the experiences of all women who served at the royal court of Queen Isabella and in the retirement household of the dowager queen.

This article investigates the sources available for understanding Isabella's household, as reigning queen, queen-regent, and dowager queen, and in particular the experiences of the women who waited upon her. Throughout her life, Isabella's household was numerically dominated by male servants, including her treasurer, physician, clerks, chaplains, household knights, and lesser-status servants such as kitchen valets and palfreymen.¹⁴ In Isabella's

Public Record Office, 1232-1582 (hereafter CPR) (London, 1891-1963; repr. Nendeln, 1972).

11 *The Lisle Letters: An Abridgement*, ed. Muriel St. Clare Byrne (Chicago, 1983).

12 *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Davis (Oxford, 2004), no. 201; *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, ed. Joan Kirby (5th ser., Camden Society Publications, 8, 1996), no. 12; *Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483*, ed. Christine Carpenter (Cambridge, 1996), no. 172.

13 *Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (1295-1360): Household and Other Records*, ed. and trans. Jennifer Ward (Suffolk Record Society Publications 57, 2014); *The Household Book of Dame Alice De Bryene, 1412-1413*, trans. M.K. Dale and ed. Vincent B. Redstone (Ipswich, 1931); Elizabeth Gibson Kunz, "Hospitality, Conviviality, and the English Gentry: Social Networks of the Landed Elite in Late Medieval Suffolk," PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 2001.

14 Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988), p. 57; C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), p. 34. See also Linda Mitchell's article in this volume.

household roll from 1311-1312 we see the allocation of winter livery to 177 men and boys, but only fourteen female servants: four ladies, eight damsels, and two laundresses.¹⁵ New Year's gifts allocated to staff during the last year of her life indicate that Isabella was served by nine women (one lady, seven damsels, and one laundress) and over seventy-seven male servants.¹⁶ As both young queen of England and elderly dowager, Isabella clearly lived in a male-dominated environment, but her intimate surroundings ensured frequent contact with the ladies and damsels, if not the lower-status laundresses, who served as her constant companions.

I have identified fifty-eight of the high-status women who waited upon Isabella in her chamber, traveled with her, cared for her personal belongings, and were rewarded for this royal service. Thirty-four (nearly 60 percent) of these women, as far as I can document, served Isabella before her coup against Edward II; eighteen (31 percent) waited upon Isabella during her years of widowhood; only six definitively served Isabella across the regnal transition. Some, like Alice de Toeni, had died. Others, like Margaret de Menteith, sought alternative opportunities.¹⁷ Four women transitioned to the new queen's household (see below).

The higher-status women who waited upon Isabella fall into three main categories, two of which occasionally overlap. The primary terms for highborn female servants who waited on late medieval queens of England were "lady" and "damsel." The distinction is marked by social gradation, not marital status.¹⁸ Ladies came from the highborn elite and, in the aforementioned winter livery list, included women from comital families such as Eleanor Despenser, the king's niece, and Alice de Beaumont, countess of Buchan. Damsels, whose genealogies are harder to trace, typically grew up in families of the lesser aristocracy. Although the origins of the damsels Joan de Villiers and her daughter Margaret are obscure, Joan's son Guy de Villiers served as a squire in Isabella's household and thus enjoyed gentry status.¹⁹ Joan de Falaise was probably the

¹⁵ *Household Book*, pp. 156-75.

¹⁶ BL MS Cotton Galba E XIV, fol. 50d. The male members of her household cannot be quantified precisely: 53 were personally named, but the source also mentions 24 unnamed "*garçones*" and "all of the valets of the officers of the households" who shared an £8 award.

¹⁷ Margaret, daughter of the earl of Menteith, departed the English court to try to recover her Scottish inheritance. *CPR*, 1324-1327, p. 87.

¹⁸ St. John, *Medieval Queens*, p. 67.

¹⁹ *Household Book*, p. 160; and TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 14d. Unusually, Joan de Villiers is sometimes listed as a damsel (see TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 29d; *CCR*, 1330-1333, pp. 384-85) and sometimes as a lady (as "*Domine*" see TNA, E 101/355/17; *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulitoris*

wife of the queen's tailor.²⁰ The "ladies" and "damsels" who received livery form the core of the queen's female household.

In Isabella's records, we clearly see another category of elite female servant who, although sometimes appearing as one of the queen's ladies, might be better termed the queen's confidante, or even friend, even if affective relationships are difficult to discern in the prosaic records of royal administration. Three aristocratic women fall into this latter category, although they sometimes appear in the records as attending upon the queen in an official capacity. These include Joan of Bar, countess of Surrey, Marie de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, and Isabella de Vescy, widow of the nobleman John de Vescy and herself a descendant of kings of Jerusalem, Leon, and Scotland. All three of these women were, like Isabella, French women who married English husbands. Vescy was a generation older and perhaps took the young queen under her wing.²¹ Bar and St. Pol were roughly the same age as Isabella and a bond is evident between these women and the queen that lasts from early in Isabella's reign to the last few months of her life. Language, custom, and distant family relationships bound these women together but there is no indication of French *versus* English factions among Isabella's courtiers. Although Isabella had a strained relationship with Eleanor Despenser during the later years of Edward II, Eleanor's sister Elizabeth de Burgh was a closer friend and supporter of Isabella's coup (see below).²²

Isabella de Vescy, like other women waiting upon the queen in the pre-coup era, had served in the households of previous queens. Along with Joan Wake and Marie Pecquigny, her period of service went back the furthest, having served the king's mother, Eleanor of Castile, before her death in 1290 and before they transitioned to the household of Edward II's young bride.²³ Pecquigny also appears in the records of the intervening queen, Edward I's second wife

Garderobae: Anno regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo, ed. J. Nichols (London, 1787), pp. 165-66. Margaret Villiers is identified as "daughter of John de Villiers" (*CPR*, 1307-1313, p. 378), which may make her the sister of Geoffrey of Brooksby, ancestor of George Villiers, King James I's favorite who was created Duke of Buckingham in 1623. See *Collins' Peerage of England; Genealogical, Biographical, and Historical* (London, 1812), 3, pp. 764-73.

20 TNA, E 101/375/9, *passim*.

21 Mitchell, *Portraits*, p. 99.

22 Frances A. Underhill, *For Her Good Estate: The Life of Elizabeth de Burgh* (London, 2000), p. 38.

23 Mitchell, *Portraits*, pp. 93, 99; John Carmi Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290: an edition of British Library, additional manuscript 35294 with introduction and notes* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 29, 52.

Margaret of France, consort from 1299-1307.²⁴ Margaret was Isabella's aunt, and we see four more of her ladies (the sisters Eleanor and Elizabeth de Clare, Joan de Villers, and Beatrice Clermont) serving Isabella in later years. Eleanor de Clare, by this time married and known as Lady Despenser, also received livery in the household of Edward II's sister, the countess of Hereford.²⁵ Queen Isabella thus inherited highborn female attendants who enjoyed a tradition of royal service.

Transitions between successive royal households also occurred at the end of Isabella's reign. Four of the women who had served Isabella moved to serve Philippa of Hainault, the new bride of Isabella's son Edward III. Marie de St. Pol and Lady Ida de Clinton received livery from Queen Philippa in her first livery roll of 1328; Isabella de la Helde appears on Philippa's livery list of 1330-31; and Emma Priour received distribution of livery in both years.²⁶ One might assert that the arrival of female servants from Isabella's household into Philippa's represents the control the queen regent enjoyed over her son and his new queen (that by insinuating her former servants into her daughter-in-law's household Isabella made sure that the new queen's servants were also loyal to her)²⁷ but, since these transitions also occurred when Isabella arrived in England as a new queen, I suggest that it was custom, not politics, at work. The continuous appointment of these ladies-in-waiting across regnal divides may have smoothed the transition from one household to another, making it easier for the new queen to establish herself, and facilitated administrative duties since bureaucratic know-how, for example how to order, finance, and take delivery of wardrobe items, survived.

In some cases it appears that women in the royal family shared their female attendants, or they transitioned between households only temporarily. Matilda de Wilmyngton appears in various records of 1331 as a damsel of Eleanor, the king's sister. One of her rewards describes her "long service to Eleanor." Yet in Philippa's 1330-1331 livery roll she appears again, in a list of women known to have been Philippa's damsels. Finally, in 1335 she appears as "a girl of the chamber of lady Isabella, queen of England."²⁸

24 TNA, E 101/361/7. Here Pecquigny appears under her married name, Sancto Amando (Amaury).

25 TNA, E 101/367/18, mm. 2-3.

26 TNA, E 101/383/10 (1328); BL, MS Cotton Galba E III, fol. 175r; and John Rylands University Library, Manchester (hereafter JRULM), MS Latin 234, 17v, 20v, 32r. I wish to thank Chris Woolgar for sharing his transcription of BL Cotton Galba and JRULM MSS with me, as well as an advance copy of the article cited in n. 79.

27 Barbara Lake, "Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England: Theoretical and Actual Authority," PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1992, pp. 136-77.

28 CCR, 1330-1333, p. 334; TNA, E 101/384/18; TNA, E 403/279, 7 Mar.

Some of Isabella's servants accompanied her daughter Eleanor when she wed the count of Guelders and St. John argues that the presence of familiar servants may have eased the transition for royal women wed abroad.²⁹ In the following generation, when Isabella's granddaughter, Princess Joan, traveled to Spain to wed Pedro of Castile in 1348, six of the dowager queen's attendants journeyed with her, or at least the exchequer record documenting the new saddles made for their travels implies that they made the journey.³⁰ The princess never made it to Spain (because she contracted the plague and died in Bordeaux), but Lady Agnes Paumart and Isabella's damsels Katherine Belvale, Isabella de St. Pol, Joan de Corby, Margaret Breef, and Margaret Bydyk all survived to appear in Isabella's household records a decade later. One wonders whether perhaps Isabella's attendants accompanied the princess only part of the way, because their complete survival is surprising, particularly if their duties required constant attendance upon the princess.

Some women who served Isabella later in life also transferred to other households. In 1365, seven years after Isabella's death, Edward III granted land in London to William Ratescroft and his wife Maud "for long service to the king's late mother Queen Isabel and his consort Queen Philippa."³¹ Similarly the king rewarded Katherine Belvale and her husband John a £20 annuity for good service to Isabella and then Philippa in 1361, three years after Katherine had been granted New Year's gifts while in service to the dowager queen.³² Female attendants built relationships with various queens, therefore, and courtiers also built relationships amongst themselves. Sources tell us of factionalism only at the highest level of society (for example baronial hostility to Edward II or distrust of the king's foreign advisers) or sources demonstrate examples of particularly close ties between Isabella and her closest ladies. The nature of surviving records means, however, that there is scant evidence documenting horizontal factionalism or hostilities between female courtiers in this era. We can assume that there were tensions and instances of conflict, but among the lower level courtiers we do not have proof of them.

On the other hand, the rewards granted to the Ratescrofts and Belvales highlight horizontal social relationships between courtiers, rather than vertical social networks formed by ties of service to multiple members of the dynasty. Many of Isabella's female attendants were married to fellow courtiers. At the highest ranks, this is not surprising – the king's closest friends and advisers

29 St. John, *Medieval Queens*, p. 124.

30 TNA, E 101/391/17.

31 CPR, 1364-1367, p. 158.

32 CPR, 1361-1364, p. 79. Above, n. 16.

among the peerage brought their wives with them to court. Thus, two of the Clare heiresses (and royal nieces), Margaret and Eleanor, appear frequently in household records because their husbands were favorites of King Edward II.³³

The lesser-status damsels in Isabella's household were, likewise, often married to men who also served the queen. As mentioned above, Joan de Falaise, the presumed wife of the queen's tailor John, was either brought into the queen's inner circle as a reward for her esteemed artisan husband or for her own knowledge concerning the care and wearing of Isabella's sumptuous garments. The damsel Juliana Nauntel was probably wed to the queen's squire John de Nauntel.³⁴ Joan and John Launge, both of French origin, were married servants in the young queen's household. John earned livery as a squire in Isabella's household and they were rewarded a handsome £80 annuity for their role in notifying the king about the birth of the future Edward III, although some of the records documenting the reward also narrate their failure to secure regular payment.³⁵ This was not the first reward offered to the Launges, for the previous year the king confirmed "a grant for life by Queen Isabella [...] to John Launge and Joan his wife, her damsel (*domicella nostra*) of the manor of Martaignevile in Ponthieu."³⁶

The pattern of the queen's attendants being married to men who also served the dynasty persisted into Isabella's waning years. In 1344 Joan de Corby's husband Robert was granted the farm of land in Norfolk "for his good service to Queen Isabella and to the King."³⁷ Joan de Corby was one of the damsels assigned to travel to Spain with Princess Joan, as was Lady Agnes Paumart, married to Nicholas, who seems to have begun his career in Philippa's household before transitioning to the dowager queen's service. Before her death Isabella had initiated an annuity of 20 marks to Nicholas and Agnes Paumart, which Edward III extended after Isabella's death "for their good service to his mother in her lifetime and to himself."³⁸ The courtier marriages of Maud Ratescroft and Katherine Belvale, both of whom transferred to serve Edward III and Philippa after Isabella's death, were discussed above.

33 Margaret first wed the king's intimate companion Piers Gaveston, and after Gaveston's execution was espoused to another courtier, Hugh de Audley. Margaret's sister Eleanor married the king's second infamous favorite, Hugh Despenser the younger.

34 TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 15.

35 TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 14; *CCR*, 1318-1323, pp. 605-15; and *CPR*, 1321-1324, p. 128; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 131, 136-37, 141.

36 *CPR*, 1307-1313, p. 362.

37 *CPR*, 1343-1345, p. 341

38 BL MS Cotton Galba E III, fol. 186r; TNA E 101/393/7, mm. 25-26; *CPR*, 1358-1361, p. 130.

Katherine Belvale's marriage to John may provide one example of Isabella deliberately fostering marital ties among her household attendants, both as queen and dowager queen. The wardrobe book from her last year reveals that Isabella rewarded John Belvale with £66 13s. 4d. for his marriage to her damsel Katherine Bronart.³⁹ The queen attended the wedding splendidly attired in a new silk girdle studded with silver and pearls with a new circlet of gold upon her head.⁴⁰ The same year, the damsel Isabella de St. Pol was also awarded £66 for her marriage to the queen's courtier (and presumably Katherine Bronart's brother), Edward Bronart.⁴¹

Nearly forty years earlier, in 1311, the young queen Isabella had rewarded a different damsel for marrying another Bronart, though whether Margaret Villiers and Odin Bronard were the parents or grandparents of the later generation is unclear. Margaret Villiers was the daughter of another damsel, Joan de Villiers, and Isabella's capacity to reward the couple for this marriage was far greater when she was queen, for the courtier pair gained the vast sum of £300 upon their marriage. Edward II granted this payment out of the Exchequer "at the request of queen Isabella."⁴² This huge amount was reserved for real favorites, however, for when Cecily Legrave, queen's damsel and daughter of the king's former nurse (and the queen's current damsel) Alice de la Legrave, wed in 1320, she and her new husband John Chaulcombe were awarded only £100 "in aid of their marriage to buy lands therewith."⁴³ And Isabella gave Mary de Sancto Martino five golden brooches for her nuptials in August 1313.⁴⁴

Many of the examples of married courtiers have already highlighted how family ties in service to Isabella could persist through generations; we have strong evidence of male and female children following their parents (or aunts and uncles) into service.⁴⁵ I provide here selected additional examples from Isabella's records as queen and dowager queen. That Stephen de Falaise, valet of the queen's chamber, was son of tailor John and damsel Joan is supported by

39 BL MS Cotton Galba E XIV, fol. 54r.

40 BL MS Cotton Galba E XIV, fol. 48r.

41 BL MS Cotton Galba E XIV, fol. 52. Bronart received a payment for good service at *ibid*, fol. 54d. Nine years earlier, in 1349, a woman named Margaret was rewarded for her good service, along with her husband "Edward Bronward" (*CPR, 1348-1350*, p. 370). This cannot be the same Edward Bronart that married Isabella de St. Pol because we learn that in 1366 Margaret was recently deceased (*CPR, 1364-1367*, p. 350). I suggest that Margaret was Isabella's mother-in-law, and we see another pattern of inherited familial service passed down from father to son.

42 *Household Book*, p. xiv; *CPR, 1307-1313*, p. 378.

43 *CCR, 1318-1323*, p. 174.

44 TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 36.

45 St. John, *Medieval Queens*, p. 78.

additional references labelling him "*scissori regine*."⁴⁶ Oliver Nauntel was identified as a son of John Nauntel and usher of the queen's chamber, making the queen's damsel Juliana his mother (or step-mother).⁴⁷ Presumably Robert Nauntel, valet of the queen's household, is another of their sons.⁴⁸

Family traditions of service remain evident in Isabella's later years, as the Bronarts demonstrated. Edward Bronart had married Isabella de St. Pol, possibly the daughter of the Peter de Sancto Paulo who appears regularly in the dowager queen's last household account.⁴⁹ One wonders whether the St. Pol/Sancto Paulo family was related to the queen's confidante Marie de St. Pol (also spelled Sancto Paulo in some records). Marie had been widowed young and remained unmarried, so these later courtiers were not her direct descendants, but perhaps she found positions for her lesser-status French relations in the household of the dowager queen. Edward Paumart, the son of Isabella's servants, Nicholas and Agnes Paumart, avoided household service but was nevertheless favored by the dynasty, as godson to King Edward III and Queen Philippa, who paid for his education at Oxford.⁵⁰

The medieval English royal family surrounded themselves with close-knit courtier families and cultivated these traditions of service. Isabella rewarded her ladies and damsels for their marriages and years of loyal service.⁵¹ The rewards fall into five main categories (apart from gifts bestowed upon marriage): privileges, land grants, gifts of commodities, annuities, and corrodies.

"Privileges" encompasses various rights and permissions allocated by the king to favored courtiers. Of course these represent only the types of grants and exemptions that required documentation in official letters, normally found in the Patent Rolls, so that although we might suspect that the queen's ladies and damsels enjoyed further privileges beyond the few recorded, we cannot confirm it.

The queen's favorite Isabella de Vescy enjoyed custody of Bamburgh castle in northern England. In 1310 the king remitted her yearly farm of that constablenesship, a hefty sum of £110, "in consideration of the expenses incurred by her

46 TNA E 101/376/17, m. 2-2d; TNA E 101 376/20 m. 3d; *CPR, 1317-1321*, p. 21; Johnstone, "The Queen's Household," p. 244.

47 *Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1272-1509* (hereafter CFR) (London, 1911-1962; repr. Nendeln, 1972), 1307-1319; p. 275.

48 TNA, E 101/375/9, fols. 30, 31d.

49 BL MS Galba E XIV, fols. 38r, 39r, 46r, 49d (inter alia). In 1356 Peter was described as "king's sergeant-at-arms [...] yeoman of Queen Isabel" in *CPR, 1354-1358*, p. 460.

50 Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven, 2012), p. 310.

51 Joan de Valence also rewarded her damsels with gifts: see Linda Mitchell's essay in this volume.

in the company of Queen Isabella."⁵² Two decades later, several years into the reign of the new king, Isabella and her brother Henry de Beaumont received licenses to allocate freely several properties.⁵³

Queen Isabella also interceded on behalf of a predecessor's attendant. She requested that William de la Lee and his wife Alice be discharged of the £10 owed to the king yearly for lands in Clopton, Suffolk, and she did this "on account of the good service of Alice wife of William de la Lee to the king's deceased grandmother."⁵⁴

It was common for queens to act as intercessors in medieval English dynastic relationships.⁵⁵ What is less commonly acknowledged is the ability of royal damsels to act on behalf of others and to influence formal bureaucratic practices. The queen's damsel and king's former nurse Alice de Leygrave interceded on behalf of her former ward Francis de Scoland, procuring for him an exemption from serving on assizes, juries, and recognisances.⁵⁶ Some years later, two Coventry merchants enjoyed exemption from paying toll, pontage, and other customs duties for a seven year period "at the request of Isabella de Helde, damsel of queen Isabella."⁵⁷ Unfortunately I have not been able to ascertain the potential link between Helde and the merchants: they may have been distant family members, family associates, or merely petitioners at court who found a sympathetic ear from a queen's damsel.⁵⁸

Grants of land, whether outright gifts, temporary custody, or allocation of land-based profits, were a more common form of reward. Unlike privileges, we find ladies and damsels from both ends of Isabella's life earning land grants as a reward for loyal service.

52 CPR, 1307-1313, p. 236. Edward I originally appointed Isabella as warden of Bamburgh Castle, but the appointment was quickly renewed by the new King Edward II. Mitchell, *Portraits*, pp. 97-98.

53 CPR, 1330-1334, pp. 283, 397; Mitchell, *Portraits*, p. 103.

54 CPR, 1313-1317, p. 162

55 St. John, *Medieval Queens*, pp. 33-63; Lois Honeycutt, "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in eds J. Carpenter and S. MacLean, *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Urbana, 1995), pp. 126-46; Anthony Musson, "Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning in Late Medieval England," in eds W. Mark Ormrod, Gwilym Dodd, and Anthony Musson, *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 156-72; John Carmi Parsons, "The Intercessionary Patronage of Queens Margaret and Isabella of France," *Thirteenth-Century England* 6 (1995): 145-56; Paul Strohm, "Queens as Intercessors," in *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 95-120.

56 CPR, 1307-1313, p. 180.

57 CPR, 1327-1330, p. 530.

58 See also St. John, *Medieval Queens*, p. 75.

Isabella de Vescy received additional grants apart from her custody of Bamburgh castle, enjoying manors in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and North Wales. She was also granted the wardship of the lands of David de Strathbogie during his minority, in 1327.⁵⁹ Marie de St. Pol similarly enjoyed land rewards, both during Isabella's tenure as queen and after.⁶⁰ Women further down the social scale gained lands too. In 1337 Elizabeth de Hastang received custody of the lands of Nicholas Kiriell while his heir was underage.⁶¹ Joan Launge, together with her husband John, enjoyed the manor of Martaignevile in Ponthieu (France).⁶² Isabella de la Helde was rewarded with labor services from the queen's bondman, Peter de Esyngton "with his goods and all his issue" when the monarch granted him to her in fee simple in 1327.⁶³ And Cecily Leygrave received a grant of the manor of Asshele (forfeited by the elder Hugh Despenser) in the same year "for losses and perils endured by the same Cecily in the company of Queen Isabella."⁶⁴

Former nurses who remained in service as queen's damsels also enjoyed rewards of land. Alice de Leygrave was awarded three wardships between 1297 and 1318, enjoying the financial profits of the lands while the wards remained underage. The heir in the 1297 example is Francis de Scoland, which explains her later intercession on his behalf.⁶⁵ In these examples from the Patent Rolls, Alice is identified as "king's nurse," but other documents list her as a damsel of the queen's chamber.⁶⁶ The queen's former nurse, Theophania de St. Pierre, was also well rewarded. In 1309 she received the manor of Martaignevile in Ponthieu.⁶⁷ A follow-up grant of 1316 is perhaps best explained by the fact that the monarchs changed their mind and granted that manor instead to the Launges. In 1316 we see the following impressive sum paid out to Theophania and her husband:

Notification of the grant made by the king and queen Isabella whilst they were at Pontoise in parts beyond the seas, at the request of the queen, to Theophania de Sancto Petro in Campis, lady of Bringuencourt, the nurse

59 She then married her ward to her niece, daughter of Henry de Beaumont. *CPR, 1307-1313*, pp. 332, 460; *CPR, 1327-1330*, p. 134; Mitchell, *Portraits*, pp. 102-3.

60 *CPR, 1327-1330*, p. 272; *CPR, 1340-1343*, p. 435.

61 *CFR, 1327-1337*, pp. 1-2.

62 *CPR, 1307-1313*, p. 36. Above, at n. 36.

63 *CPR, 1327-1330*, p. 37.

64 *CPR, 1327-1330*, p. 27.

65 Above, at n. 56.

66 *CPR, 1292-1301*, p. 249; *CPR, 1307-1313*, pp. 341, 510; *CPR, 1313-1317*, p. 264; *CPR, 1317-1321*, p. 251; TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 29d.

67 *CPR, 1307-1313*, p. 158.

of queen Isabella and wife of John de Morviller, knight, of 500l. sterling of the king's gift, to be received out of the issues of the county of Ponthieu, to buy lands, tenements and rents for the use of the children of the said Theophania by her first husband, and that the said children may possess by hereditary right such lands, &c., and that the king has caused the said 500l. to be paid to her and John de Morviller her husband for the said cause for the use of the children.⁶⁸

The identification of Theophania as "lady of Bringuencourt" suggests connections to the castle of Buignicourt in Hainault.⁶⁹ It seems plausible that Theophania was born there or perhaps was connected to that castle through an earlier marriage. Theophania was later (c.1340) buried in Greyfriars in London, close to Isabella's own tomb.⁷⁰

Although Isabella presumably could not afford to reward as generously as a dowager queen, those who served in her household in later years continued to receive grants of land or incomes based on land, sometimes, but not always, as rewards from her son King Edward III. Lands allocated to William and Maud Ratescroft have already been mentioned.⁷¹ In 1361 the king's yeoman Robert de Corby and his wife Joan, who had both served Isabella, gained manors in Cambridgeshire in perpetuity for their long and loyal service.⁷² Such grants were not always reserved for after Isabella's death. In 1352 Edward III granted a manor to the dowager queen's butler, John Touk, and his wife Margaret.⁷³ Grants of land, whether permanent or temporary custody, were a significant perk for the men and women who served Isabella as reigning and dowager queen.

Few female attendants received formal gifts of commodities that were documented in the surviving bureaucratic records, although one expects that, as with privileges, lesser gifts went unrecorded. The commodity grants that I have uncovered indicate that the queen's favorite ladies received gifts of luxury foods, whereas her lesser-status damsels received cloth and clothing. These clothing gifts are considered separately from robes of livery allocated to

68 *CPR, 1313-1317*, p. 527; *CPR, 1317-1321*, p. 66.

69 The name of the castle and its lords is given as "d'Auberchicourt," "Buignicourt," "Dabriggecourt," and others. Richard Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England* (London, 2013), Appendix 2; and The Gascon Rolls Project Online, Index of Persons, s.v. Daubrichcourt, Eustace, at <<http://www.gasconrolls.org/en/indexes/entity-001265.html>>, accessed 15 April 2015.

70 C.L. Kingsford, *The Greyfriars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915), p. 100.

71 Above, at n. 31.

72 *CPR, 1361-1364*, p. 29.

73 *CPR, 1350-1354*, p. 196.

household members, since livery played an important symbolic role that demonstrated the wealth and magnanimity of the dynasty.⁷⁴

Isabella's household book records expenses from sending venison and Brie cheese to Isabella de Vescy, presumably a New Year's gift since the delivery occurred in January.⁷⁵ Edward II's niece, Eleanor de Clare, who married the king's favorite Hugh Despenser, also enjoyed gifts of food, including receiving thirteen pieces of sturgeon from the king upon his travels to York.⁷⁶

Clothing, on the other hand, was more likely to be given to the queen's damsels rather than to the prominent noblewomen who were kin to the queen. Joan de Villiers and Mary de Sancto Martino both received cloths of gold.⁷⁷ The queen's household accounts also record a payment to John de Falaise, the queen's tailor, for either making or repairing (the text is unclear) one robe for "the daughter of the lady Alice de la Legrave."⁷⁸ These items of clothing were not merely hand-me-downs. They retained a sense of majesty as items formerly worn by the queen, and also transmitted "memories of subordination." Clothing did not merely signify wealth, it also stored financial and social capital.⁷⁹

On at least one occasion, a great noblewoman enjoyed a gift of clothing. Margaret Gaveston, the king's niece and Clare co-heiress, received sumptuous cloth worth £100.⁸⁰ Isabella also favored Margaret with precious jewels for a New Year's gift in 1312.⁸¹ Finally, in 1331, Queen Philippa rewarded Isabella's former damsel, Joan de Maundeville, with a silver cup and ewer.⁸² It is interesting to note this particular example of re-gifting. These items had previously been given by Elizabeth de St. Omer to Philippa upon the birth of the heir

74 Frédérique Lachaud, "Liveries of Robes in England, c.1200-c.1330," *English Historical Review* 111 (1996): 279-98; idem, "Vêtement et Pouvoir à la Cour d'Angleterre," in eds Patrick Henriot and Anne-Marie Legars, *Au cloître et dans le monde; femmes, homes et sociétés (IXe-XVe siècle)* (Paris, 2000), pp. 232-33; Vale, *Princely Court*, pp. 99-115; and C.M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 226, 233.

75 *Household Book*, p. 132.

76 Mary Saaler, *Edward II: 1307-1327* (London, 1997), p. 116.

77 *Household Book*, p. 237; TNA, E 101/376/17, m. 2. Also cited in Alison Weir, *Queen Isabella: Treachery, Adultery, and Murder in Medieval England* (New York, 2005), p. 148. Weir's end-note simply cites "Stowe Mss, British Library."

78 Presumably the aforementioned Cecily Legrave. *Household Book*, p. 149.

79 Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 2, 8, 27-8. See also C.M. Woolgar, "Queens and Crowns: Philippa of Hainault, Possessions and the Queen's Chamber in Mid xivth-Century England," *Micrologus* 22 (2014): p. 4.

80 TNA, E 101/375/8, fol. 28.

81 *Household Book*, p. 138.

82 JRULM, MS 235, fol. 30r; Woolgar, "Queens and Crowns," pp. 22-23.

Edward. This implies that Joan de Maundeville was particularly favored, but this is the only reference to her that I have, so the motivations for this gift remain unknown.

Perhaps these special items were granted to Maundeville upon her retirement from service. Indeed, kings and queens took care to reward their courtiers with grants that could fulfil their care needs later in life. If not granted outright land with which to sustain themselves, Isabella's household attendants often earned annuities as rewards for good service and these were paid out for the rest of their lives. Less frequently but probably no less importantly, some damsels enjoyed grants of corrodies, or late-life care and sustenance provided by a monastic institution.

Ten of Isabella's female attendants enjoyed annuities that ranged from 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) to £80. The £80 rewarded to the Launges for bringing news of the birth of the future Edward III to the king is an outlier, with £30 being the next highest annuity amount. The mean annuity payment is £21 16s. 8d., or £14 3s. 2d. excluding that outlier. Nevertheless, there was great discrepancy among annuity amounts, with no clear standardization evident.

The large variation fails to correlate with factors that one might anticipate. For example, the two women identified as ladies did not receive higher annuities than the lesser-status attendants. Joan Villers (identified in some documents as lady and some documents as damsel) was awarded only 100 shillings (£5), while Lady Agnes Paumart's reward, received together with her husband Nicholas, was still under the mean at 20 marks (£13 6s.).

Annuity amounts do, however, reflect Isabella's life-cycle position. We might expect that, as queen, Isabella would have greater resources at her disposal and could offer higher annuities, and the evidence demonstrates that those who served Isabella later in life saw reduced access to economic rewards. Again removing the Launge's £80, the mean award during Isabella's reign as queen and queen regent was £18 6s. 8d., significantly higher than the mean £8 17s. 5d. offered to those who served Isabella as the dowager queen. The decline is even more striking if we factor in the high inflation of the mid-fourteenth century, although hardly surprising.⁸³ Nevertheless, as dowager queen Isabella retained significant resources, as is demonstrated by her continued ability to offer annuities, albeit reduced ones, to some of her servants.

Many of Isabella's attendants received no annuity, which I suggest helps clarify the variation in annuity payments – these were not standardized sums, in the manner of modern retirement packages, but occasional perks granted to favored attendants, sometimes for particular reasons. The Launge's extra-

83 John H. Munro, "Before and After the Black Death: Money, Prices, and Wages in Fourteenth-Century England," in eds Troels Dahlerup and Per Ingesman, *New Approaches to the History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Copenhagen, 2009), pp. 335-64.

vagant reward for reporting the birth of Edward III – certainly an exceptional circumstance – further supports this theory.

Corrodies, which only five fortunate damsels received, were also not a standardized form of late-life care for Isabella's household attendants. These rewards, which provided food, clothing, and lodging for an elderly or needy person residing in a monastery or convent, were sometimes purchased in advance by individuals seeking security, but the king also demanded that some religious institutions provide him with space for one or more royal servants.⁸⁴ Thus, while Isabella governed England in 1329, royal letters sent to the monastery of St. Albans ordered the convent to offer maintenance to Isabella de la Helde, as the previous holder of that corrody had died. These letters were issued in the name of Edward III so that the king "at the request of Queen Isabella, has granted to Isabella de la Helde, damsel of her chamber, the afore-said maintenance for her life."⁸⁵ One of the letters specified that the monks improve the corrody for Helde; the monks should "augment the same [corrody] to be more befitting her station," but allowed "that the further amount allowed to her shall not prejudice their house as a precedent."⁸⁶ These letters superseded and revoked an earlier grant of the same corrody offered to the king's minstrel, John le Trumpour, and help to demonstrate the influence that Isabella wielded while she administered the realm in the name of her son. This probably represents one of the few occasions on which a woman supplanted a male corrodian, because male servants were far more likely to receive corrodies (as male staff far outnumbered female household attendants).⁸⁷

Sometimes women (and men) enjoyed multiple corrodies. In fact, Isabella de la Helde had been granted such maintenance some seventeen years earlier, for in 1312 letters were sent to the bishop of Worcester, master of St. Leonard's hospital in York, asking him to grant to Helde "for life the allowance of a brother in the above hospital."⁸⁸ Both the 1312 and 1329 corrodies demonstrate that corrodians were not necessarily retired and immediately resident in the religious institution offering them support. After the latter corrody grant was issued, Helde can be found working in Philippa's household as a damsel receiving

84 Allison Fizzard, "Retirement Arrangements and the Laity at Religious Houses in Pre-Reformation Devon," *Florilegium* 22 (2005): 59-79; John H. Tillotson, "Pensions, Corrodies and Religious Houses: An Aspect of the Relations of Crown and Church in Early Fourteenth-Century England," *Journal of Religious History* 8 (1974): 127-43.

85 *CCR, 1327-1330*, p. 539.

86 *CPR, 1327-1330*, p. 396.

87 Larry W. Uisilton, "The King's Women and their Corrodies," in ed. Constance Berman et al., *The Worlds of Medieval Women: Creativity, Influence, and Imagination* (Morgantown, 1985), p. 70.

88 *CCR, 1307-1313*, p. 454.

cloth delivered to Philippa's lodgings at Woodstock.⁸⁹ Similarly, earlier letters of Edward II allowed Emma Priour to earn maintenance from both Glastonbury and Waltham abbeys, "for life," and then in 1330 the king requested from the convent at Selby "a fitting sustenance to Emma Priour, damsel of the chamber of queen Philippa."⁹⁰ Priour was still in Philippa's household in 1331, taking delivery of diverse colored cloth to be made into garments for the queen.⁹¹

Despite the privileges of receiving corrodies, some damsels had trouble seeing the fruits of these rewards. In 1322 Edward II informed the prior of Worcester that he should admit Isabella's damsel, Alice Conan, to the monastery with the same privileges that one Peter de Avyler had enjoyed. But fifteen years later, after the regnal transition (perhaps instigated by the dowager Isabella?), Edward III entered into litigation with Worcester Abbey over their failure to admit Alice. The prior claimed they were too poor, and, when the king did not accept that, he asserted that he had charters proving monastic immunity from secular infringement. This minor church *versus* state dispute eventually resulted in compromise: the prior granted Alice a pension of £10 in lieu of her maintenance and the king agreed to send no more corrodians.⁹²

As dowager queen Isabella retained influence over corrody appointments, securing positions for two of her late-life damsels. In 1356, two years before her death, the king commanded the prior of Coventry to offer maintenance to Agnes Anget, "at the request of Queen Isabel."⁹³ Again, Agnes remained in service. In 1357 she received money from the queen, and in 1358, along with Isabella's other damsels, received a New Year's gift of 40s.⁹⁴ In 1355 another damsel who appears in the list of servants receiving New Year's gifts in 1358, Maud Bret, received sustenance from Stanley Abbey in Wiltshire.⁹⁵ It appears that Isabella was taking steps to ensure later life security for two of the loyal damsels who served her near the end of her years.

Evidence in the wardrobe records documenting the queen's damsels taking delivery of clothing or precious plate, even after they were ostensibly sent off to religious houses to enjoy their corrodies, brings to the forefront a key question about the experiences of medieval queens' female attendants: what did their daily lives look like? Unfortunately, the institutional records fail to reveal the detail we would like about private life and personal experiences. Never-

89 BL MS Cotton Galba E III, fol. 175r.

90 CCR, 1323-1327, pp. 517, 645; CPR, 1327-1330, pp. 544, 552.

91 JRULM, MS 235, fol. 13r.

92 CCR, 1318-1322, p. 691; CPR, 1334-1338, p. 459; Tillotson, "Pensions," p. 140.

93 CCR, 1354-1360, p. 302.

94 BL MS Cotton Galba E XIV, fols. 50d, 54d.

95 CCR, 1354-1360, p. 240; CCR, 1360-1364, pp. 283-4.

theless, records of bureaucratic payments offer some glimpses into the queen's chamber and dowager queen's household.

Some of Queen Isabella's attendants enjoyed special perks within the household, even living in their own chambers with their own household staff. During Isabella's reign the woman with the most sumptuous accommodation (apart from the queen) was the king's niece Eleanor, married to the king's favored courtier, Hugh Despenser the younger. Eleanor was entitled to a special purveyance of ale for her breakfast when the court spent the night in Durham in July 1312.⁹⁶ At court, Lady Despenser enjoyed the service of her own chamberlain, John de Berkhamptstead, her own tailor, John de Pynel, and lesser-status servants such as carters, palfrey-men, and pages.⁹⁷

Other female attendants also had pages, or shared pages, for menial tasks, as we learn from payments made to these various boys ("*garçiones*") for their liveries. Joan Launge, Alice Leygrave, Mary de Sancto Martino, and Joan and Margaret Villiers each had their own page, while Joan de Falaise and Juliana Nauntel shared the services of Raulino de Ransewill. Each boy was paid 10s. in 1313-14.⁹⁸ In Isabella's later years, some of her servants still enjoyed their own servants. Agnes Paumart had a damsel, Alice, to serve her at the dowager queen's residences.⁹⁹

Although lesser servants performed the most menial tasks, the queen's ladies and damsels were there to serve the queen, not merely accompany her. The surviving financial records most clearly reveal women taking delivery of and caring for the queen's material goods. Thus a London cofferer delivered three chests purchased for linens and other diverse goods into the hands of Isabella's damsels Julianna de Nauntel and Mary de Sancto Martino. Around the same time Gileite, "*domicelle camera Regine*," took delivery of an iron-bound chest for the queen's underclothing and linens.¹⁰⁰ The sources record the queen's women receiving money from the king as well. Christina Hengham took delivery of a gift of £41 from the king while Ida de Clinton received 20s. from the king's wardrobe, which had been delivered to the queen's chambers by one of the king's esquires.¹⁰¹

It is well known that ladies and damsels of the Tudor era frequently participated in masques and other courtly entertainments. We hear little of such amusements in medieval records but one story informs us of the king's sense

96 *Household Book*, p. 18.

97 *Household Book*, pp. 54-5; 126-9; TNA, E 101/379/14, m. 1.

98 TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 29d

99 BL Cotton Galba E XIV, fol. 54r.

100 TNA, E 101/375/9, fols. 21d-22.

101 TNA, E 403/152, m. 102; TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 1.

of humor and sense of performance. In an Easter Monday tradition evidently begun by his father and the ladies of Eleanor of Castile's chamber, Edward II let himself be caught in bed by Queen Isabella's ladies, who held him captive until he paid them a ransom.¹⁰²

Payment records also make it clear that Isabella took her female attendants with her when she traveled, or that sometimes her damsels traveled without her but at her request. Thus Lady Eleanor Despenser's chamberlain received reimbursement for the "carriage of the equipment of the said lady staying in the company of the lady queen, and going with her to various places on her travels throughout parts of England [...] for forty-six days."¹⁰³ Another text records payments for carriages and equine equipment provided for Eleanor traveling with Isabella between August, 1315 and January, 1316.¹⁰⁴ Tantalizing detail is provided in the document that records reimbursement for the expenses of Alice de la Legrave traveling from London to Langley "to the lady Christine de Marisco to have a talk with her concerning certain affairs touching the queen herself."¹⁰⁵

Travel was not limited to short distances, or within England. Financial records and royal letters highlight the experiences of those traveling overseas with the queen. We see a ship hired to carry the horses of the countess of Surrey and Lady Despenser across the channel when the queen traveled to Chartres in 1314.¹⁰⁶ Coming from the other direction, the queen's valet Odin Bureward (elsewhere Bronard) was reimbursed for traveling with Alice de Leygrave, Marie de Sancto Martino "*et aliarum plurinarum domicellarum camera Regine*" when they returned to England from Neufchatel in France.¹⁰⁷ The king also issued letters of protection for the queen's servants going abroad with her, including the safe-conduct issued for one year to "Isabella de Vescy, staying in the train of Queen Isabella."¹⁰⁸ Sometimes the travels were dangerous; in 1324 two of Isabella's ladies were killed on the Anglo-Scottish border in a skirmish with the Scots.¹⁰⁹

102 Paul Doherty, *Isabella and the Strange Death of Edward II* (New York, 2003), pp. 50-51; Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 239.

103 *Household Book*, pp. 127-129.

104 TNA, E 101/376/20.

105 *Household Book*, p. 143.

106 TNA, E 101/14/28.

107 TNA, E 101/375/9, fol. 21.

108 *CPR, 1307-1313*, p. 552.

109 Doherty, *Strange Death*, p. 77.

Some of these travels occurred when the situation between Queen Isabella and the king was becoming increasingly tense, but when the king issued letters of protection to Alice de Bello Campo and Alice Conan traveling to France with Queen Isabella in 1325 he certainly could not predict the outcome of Isabella's overseas journey.¹¹⁰ Financial records reveal Isabella dining with one of her favorite noblewomen, and presumably her political ally, Marie de St. Pol, the countess of Pembroke, while in France, while another favorite, Joan of Bar, returned from Flanders to England for the queen's infamous invasion and coup, and was well rewarded "in recompense of her expenses, and the labors which she endured in attendance on Queen Isabella in England and in parts beyond seas."¹¹¹

Isabella continued to travel with her ladies and damsels into her retirement; indeed during the last few months of her life the same countesses of Surrey and Pembroke visited and dined with her in her travels and back home at her primary residence of Castle Rising in Norfolk.¹¹² We see the continued friendship, and the dowager queen's continued influence, in a 1356 royal letter granting Marie de St. Pol permission to prolong her stay overseas "at the request of Queen Isabel."¹¹³

In addition to travelling with the queen, evidence of the queen's close relationships with her ladies and damsels when they were apart appears in the records of letters and gifts exchanged. Payments to messengers reveal letters sent by the queen to Lady de Vescy and Marie de Pecquiny in 1311 and 1312, while John de Chaulcombe (husband of Cecily Legrave) was paid by Isabella for news regarding Lady Eleanor (the letter does not state what the news was).¹¹⁴ In 1358 messengers brought numerous letters to the dowager queen from the countesses of Surrey and Pembroke.¹¹⁵ Payment to the countess of Surrey's

110 Fryde, *Tyranny*, pp. 96, 146-7; and Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 470-1. Yet Fryde (p. 147) suggests that Edward was suspicious of Isabella's role in her embassy to France.

111 TNA, E 101/380/9; *CPR*, 1327-1330, p. 21.

112 BL Cotton Galba E XIV, fols. 6, 11, 15-17. Bond ("Last Days," p. 457) and Doherty (*Strange Death*, p. 177) state that the latter guest was the new countess of Pembroke, Agnes Mortimer, daughter of Roger and widow of Laurence Hastings, earl of Pembroke. Although Isabella had attended her wedding (*Adami Murimuthensis Chronica sui temporis*, ed. Thomas Hog (Vaduz, 1964), pp. 57-58), I suspect that this countess of Pembroke was Isabella's old friend Marie de St. Pol.

113 *CPR*, 1354-1358, p. 409.

114 *Household Book*, pp. 209, 215; *Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III to Henry VI*, ed. Frederick Devon (London, 1847), p. 124.

115 BL Cotton Galba E XIV, fols. 49d, 51, 56d.

messenger for delivery of letters narrating the release of king of Navarre from imprisonment may, according to Bond, “justify us in suspecting that the countess of [Surrey], the most intimate of the queen’s friends, partook, to some extent, of the character of a political agent,” and also informs us of the dowager queen’s continued political role.¹¹⁶

The continued political role played by Joan of Bar, both assisting in the invasion and perhaps continuing to play a diplomatic role in matters between England and France some thirty years later, highlights the involvement of female attendants in the dramatic political events of the reign. Some of the well-known events led to the expulsion of her ladies from court, while, in contrast, the king’s favoritism of Hugh Despenser the Younger led to the promotion of Depenser’s wife Eleanor, sometimes at the queen’s expense. Finally, some of her female attendants had important roles to play in her successful coup.

Edward II’s first significant conflict with his leading barons, which resulted in the Ordinances of 1311,¹¹⁷ officially expelled Isabella de Vescy from court because she, along with her brother Henry de Beaumont, were numbered among the king’s “evil councilors.”¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, even though she lost her court position, she retained the queen’s favor, receiving letters and gifts that are recorded in Isabella’s Household Book.¹¹⁹ A decade later, the escalation of hostilities between Edward II and the king of France over Edward’s Gascon possessions resulted in the arrest of all French subjects from both the king’s and queen’s households.¹²⁰ John and Joan Launge were among those expelled from court.¹²¹

At the same time, Edward and his Despenser advisers took the opportunity to limit Isabella’s power and influence. Her lands were confiscated and Eleanor Despenser was placed in charge of the young royal children. The queen’s relationship with Eleanor is an intriguing one: the two women appeared to be

116 BL Cotton Galba E XIV, fol. 50; Bond, “Last Days,” p. 467; Michael Bennett, “Isabella of France, Anglo-French Diplomacy, and Cultural Exchange in the Late 1350s,” in ed. J.S. Bothwell, *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001), pp. 215–25.

117 Fryde, *Tyranny*, pp. 20–23.

118 Mitchell, *Portraits*, pp. 99–100.

119 *Household Book*, pp. 133, 209, 215.

120 *CPR*, 1324–1327, p. 30. See also Fryde, *Tyranny*, p. 146; Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 483.

121 Doherty, *Strange Death*, p. 80. In 1315 the king had ordered Joan Launge’s arrest “for going without the realm,” so he seems to have been suspicious of her for some time even if these particular circumstances remain murky. *CPR*, 1313–1317, p. 353. Comparison can be made with the court of the Henry VI, and concerns about his “couetous counseyll,” as discussed by Sally Fisher in this volume.

closer in earlier years, but the rise of the Despenser family to the top of the king's circle seems to have created hostility between them, even if we do not believe the rumor circulated by a French chronicle that Edward II was engaged in an affair with his niece Eleanor.¹²² After Isabella's successful invasion of England, Eleanor was imprisoned in the Tower of London for two years, though she eventually regained both her freedom and her lands, but for an extravagant fine of £50,000 (which Edward III later remitted to £5,000).¹²³

Finally, several ladies and damsels played prominent roles in Isabella's invasion of England in 1326. As mentioned above, damsel Cecily Leygrave was granted a manor that had been forfeited by the elder Hugh Despenser after accompanying Isabella to Hainault and returning to England with her expedition force.¹²⁴ Isabella de Vescy and Marie de St. Pol seem to have played roles behind the scenes that assisted the queen's coup against her husband.¹²⁵ Numbered among Isabella's invasion force was one Nicholas d'Auberchicourt who was later knighted and rewarded by Edward III "for good service while we were in foreign parts and also when we came with Isabella queen of England, our dearest mother, to our kingdom."¹²⁶ Isabella and the young Edward had stayed at the d'Auberchicourt (Buignicourt) castle after the queen departed France and sought an alliance with Hainault, and I suggest that Isabella's nurse, Theophania St. Pierre (lady of Bringuencourt), facilitated the relationship between her mistress and the men who assisted her in Theophania's homeland.

Ladies-in-waiting could play prominent roles in national politics. They wielded no formal role in the royal administration but they could secure favors by informal sway for themselves, their family members, and petitioners. Many other privileges and rewards presumably occurred behind the scenes and outside the purview of clerks recording bureaucratic transitions.

That they were highly valued by English monarchs is evident not only in their rewards but in the persistence of ties of service. Attendants transitioned from one royal household to another and younger generations of the same serving family were brought in. Such continuity also demonstrates that the queen's servants found the position rewarding if they were willing to remain

122 CCR, 1323-1327, p. 620; CPR, 1327-1330, p. 243; TNA E 403/228, 9 May 1327; TNA, E 101/382/12; Doherty, *Strange Death*, p. 80; Underhill, *Good Estate*, p. 34; Weir, *Isabella*, p. 153; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 140.

123 Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 140.

124 Above, at n. 64.

125 Mitchell, *Portraits*, pp. 100-102; Underhill, *Good Estate*, p. 38.

126 Barber, *Triumph*, Appendix 2.

and also recommend family members for additional positions in the household. Even if financial records do not reveal everything we wish to know about the duties and daily life in a medieval queen or dowager queen's household, they nevertheless provide extensive detail about the experiences, social networks, and rewards of the queen's ladies and damsels and demonstrate that earlier neglect of these women is unwarranted.

TABLE 7.1 *Queen Isabella's household servants*

Name	Term used	Corrody	Annuity	First/Last date	Marital status	Husband	National origin	Also served
Anget, Agnes	damsel	yes	5 marks	1356/1358-62				
Bar, Joan of	lady			1313-14/1327	married	John de Warenne, earl of Surrey	France	Philippa of Hainault
Bedyk, Margarete	damsel			1358				Princess Joan, 1348-1349
Bello Campo, Alice de				1325				
Bret, Maud		yes		1358-62	married	William Bret, king's yeoman		
Bronart, Katharine	damsel		£20	1357/1358	married 1357	John Belevale		Philippa of Hainault
Bronward, Margaret			£15	1349	married	Edward Bronward, queen's servant		
Burgh, Elizabeth de				1358	married	Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence		
Chaundeler, Margaret				1312				
Clare, Elizabeth de				1320-21	married	Roger D'Amory, lord		Margaret of France
Clare, Eleanor de	lady			1310/1326	married	Hugh Despenser the younger		Margaret of France; Princess Elizabeth, the countess of Hereford

TABLE 7.1 *Queen Isabella's household servants (cont.)*

Name	Term used	Corrody	Annuity	First/Last date	Marital status	Husband	National origin	Also served
Clare, Margaret de	lady			1310-13/1316	married	Piers Gaveston, earl of Cornwall		
Clermont, Beatrice de				1320	married	Aymery de Valence, earl of Pembroke	France	Margaret of France
Clinton, Ida de	lady, damsel			1311-12/1314	married	John, 1st Baron Clinton		Philippa of Hainault
Comyn, Alice	lady			1311-12/1312	married	Henry de Beaumont, lord	Scotland	
Conan, Alice	damsel	yes	£20	1322/1337				
Corby, Joan	damsel		£10	1344/1358-62	married	Robert de Corby, king's yeoman		Princess Joan, 1348-1349; Philippa of Hainault
d'Avesne, Alix				1308	married	Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk	France	
Deyncourt, Joan				1314				
Falaise, Joan de	damsel			1311-12	married	John de Falaise, queen's tailor	France (?)	
Fiennes, Joan de				1308	married	John Wake, 1st lord of Liddell		Eleanor of Castile
Fort, Bertrande du	damsel			1309				

Name	Term used	Corrody	Annuity	First/Last date	Marital status	Husband	National origin	Also served
Geneville, Joan de				1308	married	Roger Mortimer, earl of March		
Hastang, Elizabeth de				1327				
Helde, Isabella de la	damsel	yes		1312/1330				Philippa of Hainault
Hengham, Cristine de	damsel			1309				
Hereford, Elizabeth countess of				1308/1315-16	married	Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford		
Kent, Elizabeth countess of				1358	widow	John Wake, earl of Kent	Duchy of Jülich	Philippa of Hainault
Lancaster, Blanche of				1331/1358	widowed	Thomas Wake, 2nd baron of Liddell		Philippa of Hainault
Launge, Joan	damsel		£80	1307-13/1324	married	John Launge, king's esquire	France	
Lee, Alice de la				1314	married	William de la Lee		
Legrave, Alice de la	damsel			1311-12/1314				
Legrave, Cecily de la	damsel			1311-12	single	later married to John de Chaucombe		
Maundeville, Johanne de	damsel			1331				

TABLE 7.1 *Queen Isabella's household servants (cont.)*

Name	Term used	Corrody	Annuity	First/Last date	Marital status	Husband	National origin	Also served
Menteith, Margaret de	lady and damsel			1311-12/1312	married	Alexander de Abermethy	Scotland	
Monthermer, Isabella				1324	married	Ralph de Monthermer, lord		
Montibus, Elizabeth	lady			1318/1322				
Nauntel, Juliana de	damsel			1311-12/1313-14	married	John de Nauntel, queen's esquire		
Paumart, Agnes	lady	20 marks		1358/1358-62	married	Nicholas Paumart, queen's esquire	Princess Joan, 1348-1349	
Pecquigny, Marie de				1311-12	widow	Almeric de St. Amand, lord	Eleanor of Castile; Margaret of France	
Priour, Emma	damsel	yes		1325/1332			Philippa of Hainault	
Ratescroft, Maud				1358	married	William Ratescroft	Philippa of Hainault	
Romeseye, Margery de		£10		1347/1348	married	John Romsey, king's esquire (Edward III)		
Sancto Martino, Mary de	damsel			1311-12/1315	married	source does not state his name		
St. Pierre, Theophania de	damsel			1309/1317	married	John de Morviller, knight	Hainault?	

Name	Term used	Corrody	Annuity	First/Last date	Marital status	Husband	National origin	Also served
St. Pol, Marie de	lady			1320/1356	widow	Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke	France	Philippa of Hainault
St. Pol, Isabella de	damsel			1358-62	married 1358	Edward Bronart, queen's servant		Princess Joan, 1348-1349
Toeni, Alice de				1325	married 1315	William la Zouche, 1st baron Zouche of Mortimer		
Tyngewyk, Alicie			£30	1324				
Vescy, Isabella de	lady			1308/1316	widow	John de Vescy, lord of Alnwick	France	
Villiers, Joan de	damsel		100 s.	1311-12/1321				Margaret of France
Villiers, Margaret de	damsel			1311-12/1349	married 1311	Odin Bronard, queen's esquire		
Waryn, Alina	damsel			1358				
Whithors, Marie	damsel			1358				
Wilmynnton, Matilda de	uni puel-larum de camera			1335				Princess Eleanor; Philippa of Hainault
Unknown, Gileite	damsel			1313-14				
Unknown, Emeline				1315-15				
Unknown, Margarete la femme Janyn				1358-63	married	Janyn la [Illegible]		

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Political Power-Brokers in the Fifteenth-Century English Royal Household

Alexander Brondarbit

It has long been established that the king's household (*domus regis*) was an institution of importance in medieval England. A focal point of political life and government, it possessed great significance in diplomacy, finance, politics, ceremony, warfare, and law, for it was the site at which the sovereign's authority was exercised daily on matters both ordinary and extraordinary. Given the litany of responsibilities ascribed to the royal residence, Tout's assessment that "The whole state and realm of England were the appurtenances of the king's household" still remains a cogent view. Yet for all its importance, the household was merely the sum of its many parts. None of its functions could be carried out without the individual officers who operated within it.

The *domus* was the vehicle by which the king's authority and magnificence were expressed, but such influence extended well beyond him, as the household offered incredible potential for increased political power for those who served in such proximity to the king. The suggestion of one scholar that the royal household existed *solely* for the king's needs is an oversimplification that does not withstand scrutiny.¹ The king was the font of power and men looked to him as a means of advancing their own ambitions, yet this collaboration was mutually beneficial. From the central perspective, it gave the crown trusted agents in the localities that owed their advancement to royal backing.² In the localities, these servants acted as leading figures capable of enforcing royal authority and guarding against disorder and lawlessness. In return for their service, household officers gained the freedom to pursue their local interests free of royal entanglement and access to the king's ear. Such proximity could be manipulated by the officer to direct additional patronage toward themselves

¹ Michael A. Hicks, *English Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 2002), p. 29.

² See Ralph A. Griffiths, "Richard of York and the Royal Household in Wales, 1449-1450," in *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1991), pp. 265-276; and Ralph A. Griffiths, "Patronage, Politics and the Principality of Wales, 1413-61," in eds Harry Hearder and Henry R. Loyn, *British Government and Administration: Studies Presented to S.B. Chrimes* (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 69-86, esp. pp. 82-6.

or their dependents and ensure royal support for private aims. It is therefore hardly surprising that household service proved to be a conventional stratum for those looking to improve their fortunes and social station.

With the growth in business the government handled under Edward I (r. 1272-1307), the household and the central departments naturally grew in kind to meet the greater administrative demand. This in turn provided further opportunities for advancement as the number of royal servants swelled to meet the demands placed by the additional workload.³ The mounting role the household played continued into the early modern period as evident by the expansion in size and influence of courtiers and professional civil servants based primarily at court under the early Tudors.⁴ This undermines the assumption that the *domus regis* served the royal will alone.⁵ The household *familia* was comprised of public and private interests that did not always coincide with the king's policies or profit. For the servant, admission into the household was admission into an echelon of prestige, wealth, and political power unachievable by any other means for the excluded majority. For that reason it was a site which allowed incredible upward social mobility, a rarity given the strict hierarchical nature of medieval society which imposed rigorous laws on dress and codified language to enforce existing class structure. This paper will determine the measures by which power-brokers within the king's household were created, and the manner in which they exerted their influence at court and in the localities.

The designation "power-broker" is applied throughout this essay to a member of a dynamic and variable group of power elite which included both autonomous and dependent holders of political authority. They were capable of exerting influence on, and on behalf of, the state. They were the people who mattered in the political system and state building, complementing the intellectual, religious, and economic power-elite that comprised society.⁶ Rather than rely on formal procedures, power-brokers advanced their personal interests with their sovereign via their personal relationship to him. Power-brokers "broke" power: that is, implemented, influenced, and even shaped the exercise of royal authority. While the majority of ruling elite in late medieval England

3 See Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (London, 1979).

4 Steven Gunn, *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 23-71.

5 The interplay is illustrated by David Starkey's study, "The Age of the Household: Politics, Society and the Arts, c.1350-c. 1550," in ed. Stephen Medcalf, *The Later Middle Ages* (London, 1981), pp. 225-90, esp. pp. 261-3. See also John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 87-8.

6 Wolfgang Reinhard, "Power Elites, State Servants, Ruling Class, and the Growth of State Power", in ed. W. Reinhard, *Power Elites and State Building* (Oxford, 1996), 5-9.

were noble, not all nobles were power-brokers. There are multiple explanations for this demarcation such as the absence of close connection to the king, political inactivity, deficient personal ability, or insufficient resources. Furthermore, the male-dominated polity did not exclude female power-brokers. It has been well-established that aristocratic women, particularly widows and members of the blood royal, managed households, retainer networks, and delivered effective good lordship at the expense of their rivals.⁷ Yet their influence did not spring from a connection to the focus of this paper, the king's household, which remained a male dominated institution in the fifteenth century.

The term "power-broker" is of course anachronistic, but it remains appropriate given the middle-ground such individuals occupied between the crown and the greater community. Their ability to exert the influence they gained upon others from their connection to the crown renders the term an apt one. Royal patronage is the obvious starting point when attempting to identify a political power-broker in light of the voluminous survival rate of records concerned with grants, but it should not be taken as the *sole* measure, as the accumulation of patronage did not always lead to a meaningful stake in the government. Wealth did not equate political involvement. The manifestation of a broker's authority within the contemporary political framework must be established by additional measures, the more common of which include functions such as exercising influence in government policy, dominating regional power structures, and utilizing their royal access to provide effective good lordship for dependents.

The sources providing insight into the careers of the servants operating within the royal household are varied, consisting of the wardrobe account books which detail in meticulous fashion the daily expenditure put towards meeting daily consumption, the expenses of the lower departments, and the servants who received fees and robes (*feoda et roba*).⁸ This was a product of the slow sophistication of household administrative records that took place throughout Edward I's reign at the close of the thirteenth century.

7 See Linda E. Mitchell, "Joan de Valence and Her Household: Domesticity, Management, and Organization in Transition from Wife to Widow," in this volume, pp. 95-114; See also Rowena E. Archer, *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995); idem, "How ladies ... who live on their manors ought to manage their households and estates: Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages", ed. P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women in Medieval English Society c. 1200-1500* (Stroud, 1992, rpt. 1997), pp. 149-81; Alexander R. Brondarbit, "The Allocation of Power: The Ruling Elite of Edward IV, 1461-1483," PhD dissertation, University of Winchester, 2015, pp. 140-42.

8 See London, The National Archives [hereafter TNA], E 101/406/21, fol. 28r; E 101/411/13, fol. 38v; E 101/412/2, fol. 38r.

Such sophistication was mirrored in the household books of the English aristocracy who continued to compete with the crown by promoting the grandeur of their own households.⁹ The number of recorded servants continued to grow in the fourteenth century as it became a political necessity for the king to retain knights and esquires for service in peace and war. Unfortunately, the survival rate of the wardrobe accounts is sporadic. The process recorded within them is quite inconsistent as the wage lists of the servants are not always recorded. Grants of office found in the patent rolls in addition to the warrants for the great and privy seals are one way of bridging this gap. Another are the payments to the household servants that are found in the warrants for issues and issue rolls. Both types of records are particularly useful in identifying members of the royal affinity as the language of the grant explicitly stated the manner in which the patentee was attached to the household. Concessions were often made in recognition of the individual's good service. Therefore such records often shed light on the nature of service the officer provided for the crown at court and in the localities. The consistent inclusion of the office further reinforces the notion that it was perceived to be a necessary association to advertise as a means of boosting the odds of securing a royal grant.

As stated above, royal patronage was the first and foremost feature marking a household servant as a political power-broker. The rewards and favors in the king's gift consisted of a wide range of grants in the form of offices, estates, wardships, custodies, licenses, pardons, and cash. It was the clearest public expression of favor that contemporaries could observe, and household men were well positioned to acquire the lion's share of the king's bounty. This inroad to patronage rendered a place in the household a highly sought and influential position. This is not to say that all household officials were enriched by their office. Edward I's generosity was quite limited toward his lay household servants, curbing any widespread meteoric rises within their ranks.¹⁰ While Edward could afford to be niggardly toward his servants given the unquestioned authority cementing his rule, the same could not be said for fifteenth century monarchs, particularly during the crisis of kingship that arose as a result of the Wars of the Roses. It is little wonder that the criticism against the cash-strapped and ineffectual Henry VI (r. 1422-61, 1470-71) that he kept no household in his later years was such a serious condemnation for the lack of a household – or at the very least one appropriate to the king's rank – removed a major source of employment and social advancement for the politically ambi-

9 Mitchell, "Joan de Valence," pp. 95-114.

10 Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 154-5.

tious. Yet even when the opportunity to serve was available, the costs of a post in the king's house could be crippling despite the higher base wage that outdid the noble houses.¹¹ Rulers were expected to be impressive and part of this opulence was that the king's entourage reflected his power, with splendid clothing and mounts. Sir John Fortescue illustrated the notion best:

[A]nd as he mey bie hym riche clothes, riche fures, [...] and riche stones, serpes, bauderikes and other juels and ornamentes conveniyent to his estate roiall. And often tymes he woll bie riche hangynges and other apparel ffor his howses; vessail, vestments, and other ornamentes for his chapel.¹²

The overhead costs resulting from the need for opulence might have well exceeded an officer's standard fees. On 5 July 1471, John Sturgeon, esquire, had to petition for the repayment of £227 1s. 6d. which he had provided to aid in covering the expenses of the household.¹³ Fortunately, the close proximity to the king provided a much improved chance of redress; petitions for cash rewards to offset the losses incurred in royal service were not unusual propositions as is evident in the surviving warrants.¹⁴ Despite the costs, it nevertheless continued to have the enticing potential to become quite lucrative, radically changing the future prospects of the official if grants beyond the base wage were acquired. Additional acts of largesse were prevalent, and in some cases, traditional. A grant of £100 was made to the grooms and pages of the king's chamber at Christmas in addition to 100 marks (£66 6s. 6d.) for the yeoman of the crown and chamber.¹⁵ Further augmenting the fiscal benefits was the protection royal servants enjoyed from threats to livelihood. Acts of resumption became a popular method for keeping royal finances afloat during the eco-

11 See Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (New Haven, 1986), p. 56.

12 Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1885), p. 125. See also Scot McKendrick, "Tapestries from the Low Countries in England during the Fifteenth Century," in eds Caroline M. Barron and Nigel Saul, *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 43-60, on p. 49; Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 6, 20.

13 TNA, PSO 1/35, no. 1809. See also TNA, E 404/71/1, no.66.

14 See TNA, E 28/87, no. 16; and Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI* (Sutton, 1998), p. 318.

15 TNA, PSO 1/43, no. 2214, PSO 1/54, no. 2759; E 404/73/3, nos. 76, 79-80, 88; E 404/75/1, nos. 39, 77; E 404/76/1, no. 49; E 404/77/2, no. 39; E 404/78, no. 18; and *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and Ordinance of 1478*, ed. A.R. Myers (Manchester, 1959), pp. 120-1.

nomic slump (referred to by some as the *Great Slump*) that struck in the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁶ Resumption posed serious financial implications for all those whose income depended on royal patronage. Household officials were protected from such acts with broad provisos exempting them from enduring any loss. Acquiring wealth supported by royal authority served to bolster the prestige and power of the officer at court and in their respective communities. Such treatment fell under the expectation of good lordship that, if disappointed, could invite sharp criticism. Amongst the multitude of failures ascribed to Edward II (r. 1307-1327) by his contemporaries was the charge of his violence and neglect toward the knights of his household and his unwillingness to reward them appropriately for their service. His failure to honor the men closest to him appropriately was criticized in the *Polychronicon* and echoed by later writers.¹⁷ A more public embarrassment occurred at Pentecost on 22 May 1317. A woman dressed as a theatrical player presented a letter protesting about the king's treatment of his household knights while he dined at the feast.¹⁸ The woman revealed during the subsequent round of questioning that she had been enlisted to the act by one of Edward's household knights. This discontent later took form in the widespread desertion of Edward which he experienced throughout his reign as he alienated the servants closest to him.

The power that was acquired from the crown by grants of title, office, and land did not remain stagnant as it was reemployed to represent and enforce royal authority, advance friends, and hinder rivals.¹⁹ Their influence is evident in the intermediary services they offered to the throngs of suitors in need of a

16 See Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses* (London, 2010), pp. 49-55.

17 *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. J.R. Lumby, 8, Rolls Ser. (London, 1882), pp. 298-300; "Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi," in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Ser. (London, 1883), vol. 2, p. 91; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, I, c.550-c.1307*, vol. 2: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century (London, 1974; 1982), vol. 2, pp. 9, 113. The contrasting viewpoints regarding Edward's relationship with his household knights has been examined most recently in J.S. Hamilton, "A Reassessment of the Loyalty of the Household Knights of Edward II," ed. W. Mark Ormrod, *Fourteenth Century England* 7 (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 47-72.

18 Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (London and New Haven, 2010), pp. 10, 10n, 17.

19 See Shelagh Mitchell, "The Knightly Household of Richard II and the Peace Commissions," in ed. Michael A. Hicks, *The Fifteenth Century*, 2 (2001): pp. 45-56, esp. 54-56. In the fifteenth century, the use of middling household servants was the preferred method of administering crown estates in Duchy of Lancaster. See TNA, DL 37/30, nos. 170, 296; DL 37/42, nos. 9-10; DL 37/43, nos. 5, 12-13; DL 37/44, nos. 4, 6-7; DL 37/45, nos. 7, 18, 20-21; DL 37/46, no. 8; DL 37/50, nos. 5, 8-9, 22; Bertram P. Wolffe, *The Crown Lands 1461-1536* (London, 1970), pp. 54-5.

grant in the king's gift. For the suitor, a connection to a household servant with royal access was crucial in determining whether the petition was heard and granted.²⁰ While there were multiple types of access in the royal household, the majority of "above-stairs" officials were privileged with enviable levels of contact with the monarch through their admittance into the royal chamber and in some cases the sanctum that was the privy chamber.²¹ Such freedom was the acid test of political status. The odds of securing a grant were daunting without a path to the royal chamber. Access thus serves as a useful measure of gauging a political power-broker's ability to exert their own influence and good lordship.

The effectiveness of chamber servants to represent a suitor's interests by swaying the king to receive a petition was clearly a method popular enough to have sparked the imagination – and condemnation – of contemporary writers. William Langland touched upon the issue in his satirical allegory, *Piers Plowman*. Prior to her examination by the king, Lady Meed receives assurances from lobbying denizens and household officials that they "wol wise [advise] þe kyng and þi wey shape".²² They are rewarded in turn for their goodwill with gifts appropriate to each man's rank: "Of hire grete goodnesse, and gaf hem echone coupes of clene gold and coppes of siluer, rynges wiþ Rubies and riches many, the leeste man of hire meynee a moton of golde".²³ This transaction runs contrary to the king's earlier command to his constable that no such gifts were to be accepted.²⁴ It is of little wonder that admission to the king's presence was a valuable commodity that was jealously sought and closely managed by the servants "above-stairs". It possessed lucrative potential and the opportunity to add to one's worship as an effective good lord by performing favors for those willing to pay for them. The annotated provisos for the 1465 and 1467 acts of resumption offer a rare snap-shot of who possessed royal access, as the clerk of parliament, John Faukes, noted the intermediary who had met with the king, negotiated with him in his chamber, and secured the exemption.²⁵ Household men were the popular representatives for suitors as

20 G.L. Harriss, "The King and his Subjects," in ed. Rosemary Horrox, *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 13–28, at p. 19.

21 John Paston wrote of "Sir George Brown, Sir James Ratcliff and others of my acquaintance which wait most upon the king and lie nightly in his Chamber." See *Paston Letters, 1422–1509*, ed. James Gairdner, 4 vols (Westminster, 1901), vol. 1, p. 259.

22 W. Langland, *Piers Plowman: The B Version*, eds George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London, 1975), p. 271.

23 Langland, *Plowman*, p. 271.

24 Langland, *Plowman*, p. 267.

25 See Hicks, *Political Culture*, pp. 102–3; idem, "Attainder, Resumption and Coercion, 1461–1529," *Parliamentary History* 3 (1984): 15–31 (rept in Michael Hicks, *Richard III and His*

they were asked to represent individuals, groups, and entire towns for the purpose of securing an exemption to the act of resumption.²⁶ It is highly likely that such favors were accompanied by some form of payment. Moreover, it allowed the officer to exercise his good lordship and demonstrate his influence with the king. Intermediaries often represented suitors that hailed from their native regions or were tied to their affinity, thus by securing royal favors they promoted their regional standing and their suitability as effective good lords.²⁷

Additionally, the gift-giving patterns of the provincial towns are another useful, yet sadly underused, source for establishing the exertion of influence. Towns were subservient to the crown, relying on grants held in the king's gift that concerned their economic prosperity and local autonomy.²⁸ Gift-giving was a necessary method to circumvent the social and geographic disadvantages they faced in maintaining relations with the sovereign.²⁹ While prominent in their communities, the urban elite were not guaranteed to know the king or any of his leading ministers personally. The geographic element was also an important factor. As Rosemary Horrox has established, most towns did not receive regular royal visits which again reinforces the argument that the burgesses may not have possessed their own substantial connections at court.³⁰ In light of this need, the urban elite sought to curry favor with local leaders, the king's family, and servants within the royal household with minor gifts of cash and foodstuffs. It was an effective means of bridging the geographic and social gap between themselves and the king and it helped secure allies at the heart of government. Upon his visit to London in 1473 to recover £16 13s. 4d. of resumed fee-farm rent, the mayor of Canterbury, Roger Brent,

Rivals (London, 1991), pp. 61-77); Eton, Eton College Archive, Audit Rolls, Edward IV, ECR AR/C/2; and Tim Card, *Eton Established: A History from 1440 to 1860* (London, 2001), p. 27.

26 See TNA, C 49/55, no. 26; C 49/58, no. 39.

27 Notable examples include the treasurer of the household, Sir John Fogge, who represented his kinsmen and fellow Kentishman, William Haute. See TNA, C 49/55, no. 14; /58, no. 30; /60, no. 25; /61, nos. 18, 26; /64, nos. 45, 50, 79; /65, nos. 30, 37.

28 See Rosemary Horrox, "Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century," in ed. Ralph A. Griffiths, *Patronage, The Crown, and The Provinces in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 145-66; Lorraine C. Attreed, *The King's Towns: Identity and Survival in Late Medieval English Boroughs* (New York, 2001), chapter 4; and ed. Lorraine C. Attreed, *The York House Books 1461-90*, 2 vols (Stroud 1991). See Alexander R. Brondarbit, "Cultivating Power in Yorkist England: Political Patronage and the Cinque Ports, 1461-1485," *Journal of Southern History* 37 (2015): 20-39 for a more recent study of the urban patronage patterns of the Cinque Ports.

29 Helen Carrel, "The Rituals of Town-Crown Relations in Post-Black Death England," in ed. Frances Andrews, *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages* (Donington, 2011), pp. 148-164.

30 Horrox, "Urban Patronage," p. 147.

had to pay every clerk, valet, and usher in the royal household and the chamberlain's office a fee "*pro amicitia sua habenda*" to get his suit a favorable hearing.³¹ Further investigation into the surviving accounts for other periods and towns is warranted in order to establish whether there were any long-term changes in the method of cultivating the ruling elite. The gifts and presents (*dona et exennia*) recorded in the account rolls for the town show consistent long-term attempts to win and maintain the friendship of the ruling elite. The surviving accounts for several towns and cities such as Canterbury, Exeter, York, Norwich, Southampton, and Winchester strongly suggest it was a widespread practice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Towns regularly allocated 10 percent of their expenditures to gifts, although the nature of the practice began to change under Henry VII (r. 1485-1509), growing more conservative in the sums spent and the figures patronized.³² Unfortunately, the reason behind the gesture is rarely made explicit, if there even was one in mind at the time. Earning the nebulous goodwill of the elite was deemed sufficient. The surviving accounts of the Cinque Ports for the Yorkist period (drawn mainly from Dover, Rye, New Romney, Sandwich, and Lydd) show that cases of gift-giving included prominent figures within the household such as William, Lord Hastings (chamberlain); Thomas, Lord Stanley (steward); Sir John Fogge (treasurer), Sir John Elrington (cofferer and then treasurer) and Master William Hattcliff (physician and secretary) in addition to several knights and esquires of the body.³³ To the civic leaders, it was the connection to the king that mattered rather than the individual holding the office. Two grants in the accounts for Dover were recorded for the "treasurer of the king's house" and the "king's secretary" with no mention of the officials' names.³⁴

With unmatched proximity to the king and suitors willing to pay for the perks of that closeness, royal service provided household officials with a strong chance of acquiring devolved authority in their respective regions. The promise of advancement sanctioned by the crown thus made it a competitive venture to break into the king's inner circle, which was bound to disappoint men like Sir John Paston who had neither the financial means nor the personal

31 Historical Manuscript Commission, *9th Report*, Appendix (London, 1883-4), p. 143.

32 See Attreed, *The King's Towns*, chapter 4.

33 London, British Library (hereafter BL), Additional MSS. 29616, fols. 8v, 37r, 99r, 147v-48v, 162v-163v, 212v, 225r; *Records of Lydd*, ed. Arthur Finn, trans. A. Hussey and M.M. Hardy (Ashford, 1911), p. 274; Brondarbit, "Cinque Ports," pp. 34-36.

34 BL Add. MS 29616, fols. 99r, 147v.

ability to make their way in the king's household.³⁵ For those that could gain a place amongst the ranks of the privileged, a dramatic rise in standing became an attainable prospect as the bulk of late medieval kings' grantees came from within the royal affinity.³⁶ Yet such an endeavor was no small feat as access to the king's presence was closely guarded by the most visible power-broker within the *domus magnificencie*.

The office of chamberlain was a coveted position in the royal household for it was a catalyst by which an obscure individual could be thrust into the ranks of the ruling elite. Due to the intimacy of the office and the trust it required, the official would normally be a close friend of the king.³⁷ In this capacity the chamberlain was in a unique position, as the officer was the gateway to the king's presence with authority over all other servants "above-stairs". The gentlemen and yeoman ushers as well as the grooms and pages who kept the various doors throughout the royal chamber, controlling access to the inner-most privy chambers, were all under the direction of the chamberlain's jurisdiction.³⁸ A bill to be presented to the king needed to pass through the chamberlain's inspection and approval first, which it was unlikely to do if he disapproved of its contents. Roger, Lord Beauchamp of Bletsoe, proved to be such a roadblock when he refused to admit Edward III's (r. 1327-77) influential mistress, Alice Perrers, into the king's presence by reason of his resistance toward the contents of her petition, specifically her desire to have Richard Lyons pardoned after he was condemned by the Good Parliament.³⁹ Alternatively, when not denying the suits of others, chamberlains could advance their own interests. In this capacity, ambitious chamberlains such as Hugh Despenser the younger and Sir Simon Burley enjoyed unparalleled levels of royal patronage which they used to amass political power, regional hegemonies, and wealth that would have not

35 Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 8, 133.

36 Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 329, 364.

37 See TNA, PSO 1/7, no. 373.

38 For the structure of the *domus magnificencie* in the late medieval and early modern period as well as the various duties performed by its staff in monitoring royal access, see *The Black Book*, ed. Myers; and David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (London, 1986), pp. 44-59.

39 Given-Wilson, *King's Affinity*, p. 72; "Edward III: April 1376," *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, eds Chris Given-Wilson et al. (Woodbridge, 2005), *British History Online* at <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/april-1376>>, accessed 14 September 2016.

been otherwise possible.⁴⁰ The vigorous nature with which they pursued their aims was fueled by the temporary nature of household service, which was a grant that relied on keeping the king's goodwill and remained in effect only as long as he continued to rule.

The office exercised no less power in the fifteenth century, as the chamberlain remained the chief power-broker of the household. William, Lord Hastings's meteoric rise occurred through his family's history of service to the House of York. Hastings's influence with the king was recognized and duly cultivated by others. By way of his close connection to Edward IV (r. 1461-70, 1471-83), he rose to become one of the most powerful figures in the country and a regional power in the Midlands. John Paston the younger wrote to his brother of Hastings's rise in station, describing the chamberlain as one of the men "whyche be now gretest abowt the Kyngys person". Other members of the peerage – Anne, duchess of Buckingham; John, Lord Lovell; Richard, Lord Rivers, and his wife Jacquetta of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford – were quick to favor Hastings with their own grants and annuities in order to build a relationship with one so close to the king.⁴¹ It is undeniable that the bulk of his influence came through his office as chamberlain. Despite lacking a substantial landed power-base in his own right, Hastings commanded a bastard-feudal connection that could provide an army for the desperate Yorkists on the eve of the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury in the spring of 1471.⁴² The writer of the *Arrivall* states that it was the desire to curry favor with the king's chamberlain that motivated men in the region to risk life and livelihood by taking up arms against the Readeption government. Hastings's impromptu execution in the

40 Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 319n., 331, 336, 391-2, 442; T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc.* ed. G. Holmes, 20 vols (London, 1704-35), vol. 2, i, pp. 541-2; Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272-1377* (New York, 1980), pp. 94-95; Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, 1997), pp. 112-19; *Foedera*, vol. 7, p. 370; *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Richard II, I, 1381-5* (London, 1897), pp. 107, 118, 160, 206, 220, 301, 305, 325, 447, 464. Further volumes of the patent rolls cited throughout this article are abbreviated as follows: *CPR, Henry VI, 1436-1441*: *CPR, Henry VI, III, 1436-1441* (London, 1907); *CPR Henry VI 1441-46*: *CPR, Henry VI, 1441-46* (London, 1971); *CPR Henry VI, 1446-52*: *CPR, Henry VI, 1446-52* (London, 1909); *CPR Henry VI, 1452-1461*: *CPR: Henry VI, VI, 1452-61* (London, 1910); *CPR, Edward IV, 1461-67*: *CPR, Edward IV, I, 1461-8* (London, 1897); *CPR, Edward IV, 1467-77*: *CPR, Edward IV, II* (London, 1900); *CPR, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1476-1485*: *CPR, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1476-1485* (London, 1901).

41 William H. Dunham, *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1461-1483: The Lawfulness of Livery and Retaining under the Yorkists and Tudors* (Hampton, CT, 1970), p. 21.

42 *Historie of the arrivall of Edward IV in England and the final recoverye of his kingdoms from Henry VI, AD 1471*, ed. J. Bruce, Camden 1st ser. (1838), pp. 154-55.

spring of 1483 by Richard, Duke of Gloucester's sudden coup was ultimately an acknowledgement of the resistance that the baron could have presented to the duke's usurpation of the throne, as he was the natural leader of the royal household affinity.⁴³ Through the close relationship with the king and the nature of the daily duties required by the office, the chamberlain was a preeminent power-broker within the royal household, yet even the most influential chamberlain could not monopolize power entirely, and alternative avenues to patronage and influence remained available to the senior officials.

While not as grand a position as the chamberlain, the office of chief butler is a useful example in demonstrating the diverse ways different household offices afforded power to their officers. The position of chief butler has hitherto been lost in the shadow of the more visibly influential offices such as the chamberlain or steward. Nevertheless, it remained a role that afforded the officer the opportunity to issue a great deal of patronage in the form of gifts and offices at his own initiative to persons of his own choosing. Officially, the main responsibility of the chief butler was one of logistics, as he was to acquire

wynnys of all kyndes he shall pourueye for the yere next following...and the namys of the plaes of the kings or ells where hit shall please the kyng to pourpose his moste abydyng, that there the saide wynnys shuld be loged in, for his expenses and of his housholde.⁴⁴

In the long reign of Henry VI the office was predominantly held by Thomas Chaucer, Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley and John, 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury. Erroneously described as a plum job, the political implications of the office were ignored in A.J. Pollard's investigation of the Talbot family.⁴⁵ As chief butler of England, Chaucer had used the office under all three Lancastrian kings to command a national reserve of patronage, which was deployed with consummate skill to bolster his following in the House of Commons where he served fifteen times (five of which as speaker).⁴⁶ The political potential of the office and the

43 Richard's plan ultimately backfired as the royal household of Edward IV showed considerable political unity in the aftermath of Edward's death to reject the usurpation. See Louise Gill, *Richard III and Buckingham's Rebellion* (Stroud, 1999); Michael A. Hicks, *Richard III* (Stroud, 2000), chapter 4; Charles D. Ross, *Richard III* (Berkeley, 1981), ch. 5.

44 *The Black Book*, ed. Myers, p. 174.

45 A.J. Pollard, "The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century," PhD dissertation, Bristol University, 1968, p. 80. Shrewsbury's appointments survive in the butler's bills held at the National Archives. See TNA, C 81/1647, nos. 1-23.

46 John S. Roskell, "Thomas Chaucer of Ewelme," *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, 3 vols (London, 1983), vol. 3, pp. 151-91; John S. Roskell, *The Commons and Their*

household connection was brought to bear even more by John, Lord Wenlock, who received it from the victorious Yorkists on 14 November 1460 following their victory at the battle of Northampton.⁴⁷ Having served as an esquire of the body in the household of Henry VI and as usher in the chamber of Margaret of Anjou, Wenlock was a seasoned royal household servant.⁴⁸ His experience proved useful, as the office of butler was no sinecure. Wenlock was kept so busy with overseeing the logistics of the keeping the household supplied that he was provided with an additional yeoman to assist him in his daily duties.⁴⁹ It was also his prerogative to appoint deputies of his choosing in all ports, which gave him considerable power in advancing the careers of others. This may explain the gifts and goods men frequently signed over to him.⁵⁰ Surviving butler's bills record the appointments of his lieutenants who owed their advancement to Wenlock's initiative.⁵¹ Throughout the 1460s, Wenlock continued to use the trust he enjoyed with the king to acquire further concessions. He was granted the wardship of the Duke of Norfolk's underage heir, the custody of estates held by the widows and wives of dead or exiled Lancastrians, and local offices in Buckinghamshire and Middlesex.⁵² Although his daily duties as butler kept him from fulfilling the local offices personally, this allowed Wenlock to issue yet more patronage, selecting deputies to serve in the shires in his stead. The process of farming out royal grants only furthered his influence in the localities as the primary local officers were Wenlock's men and thus, in theory, the king's men.⁵³ The baron's regional ambitions reached their peak when he secured a pocket-borough on 29 November 1468 after he personally

Speakers in English Parliaments, 1376-1523 (Manchester, 1965); K.B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays* (London, 1981), pp. 99-101.

- 47 Despite the unsettled state of the country with the civil conflict, Wenlock began appointing deputies almost immediately after his grant. *CPR, Henry VI, 1452-1461*, vol. 6, pp. 637, 644.
- 48 *CPR, Henry VI, 1446-52*, pp. 5, 28, 165, 247, 311. See also *CPR Henry VI, 1446-52*, p. 530; John S. Roskell, "Lord Wenlock of Someries," *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, 3 vols (London, 1981), vol. 2, pp. 246-7.
- 49 *CPR Edward IV, 1461-7*, p. 14.
- 50 *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward IV, 1461-1468* (London, 1949), vol. 1, pp. 9, 72, 82, 144.
- 51 TNA, C 81/1647, nos. 28-43. It appears it became common practice for butlers to provide their sign manual for bills of appointment. Subsequent butlers, John, Earl of Wiltshire and Anthony, Earl Rivers, both regularly signed appointments, suggesting they may have taken an increased interest in the process or felt the need to add an additional sign of authority to back-up the bill. See TNA, C 81/1647, nos. 57-8, 60, 70-2.
- 52 *CPR Edward IV, 1461-7*, pp. 54, 88, 105, 112, 142, 178, 181, 183-4, 195, 223; Roskell, "Lord Wenlock," vol. 2, pp. 256-7.
- 53 See Christine Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England*,

interceded for his native town of Wenlock (Salop.) to be incorporated as a free borough with the right to elect two MPs.⁵⁴ Although he later served as deputy captain of Calais for the Earl of Warwick in the late 1460s, the office of butler was the only central government position the baron held. The office was the primary source of his patronage and power, allowing him – in true power-broker fashion – to mediate royal authority by appointing his own well-wishers and dependents to local offices of his choosing.

Fortune did not shine on the senior officials alone; in like fashion the middling sort wielded tremendous political clout as a result of their household affiliation. It is of course not possible to enumerate fully the careers of power-brokers who held junior positions for a single reign let alone an entire period, but the following examples provide an expedient framework for the status and influence household ties could confer and the manner in which a career could develop significantly from such service. Although they were not members of the peerage, a king's knight and king's esquire could still reap considerable gains as members of the royal inner circle. The right to wear the royal livery visibly marked them as separate from others of their own class. They waited upon the king and were likely to have served him prior to his elevation to the throne if he had had a lengthy career as Prince of Wales. Henry v's decision to spurn his father's chamber knights for men he had served with in Wales attests to the care that was taken in the selection process and the desire to staff the household with men of similar values.⁵⁵

The Buckinghamshire esquire, Edmund Hampden, rose to the ruling elite in the reign of Henry vi largely through the good lordship of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who was the steward of the household and main force behind government policy in England during the 1440s by reason of Henry's ill-suited nature to the rigors of kingship. Suffolk promoted his own affinity into the king's household, thereby rendering Henry's affinity and the duke's nearly one and the same. Yet Edmund survived the duke's downfall in 1450 to cement his own position in the government. He remained in royal service as an esquire of the body in Henry's household, in addition to serving as an usher of the chamber and carver for Queen Margaret of Anjou. His provincial duties focused upon his home county where he served as JP for the last two decades of Henry's

c. 1437-1509 (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 192-4; *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486*, eds Nicholas Pronay and John Cox (London, 1986), p. 147.

54 *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1226-1516*, 6 vols (London, 1903-1927), vol. 6, pp. 229-30.

55 Gwilym Dodd, "Henry v's Establishment: Service, Loyalty and Reward in 1413," in ed. Gwilym Dodd, *Henry v: New Interpretations* (York, 2013), p. 45

reign.⁵⁶ A rather eclectic range of local offices in Wales and Ireland were also granted to Hampden, allowing him to mediate the royal patronage by farming them out in kind to his own deputies.⁵⁷ Despite the bankruptcy of the House of Lancaster, Hampden earned a number of sizeable financial perks during his tenure in the royal households, including a £20 pension granted in 1440 and a £100 reward in 1447.⁵⁸ Like many of his contemporaries, Hampden sought concessions allowing him to exploit the wardship market for personal profit. Acquiring direction of an heir or heiress afforded the guardian control over their estates and marriage which could be made to the financial advantage of the guardian. Similar advantages were available with the custody of legally-declared “idiots” which offered the custodian long-term authority over the incapacitated individual’s property. On 24 February 1446, Hampden and Sir Edmund Hungerford successfully petitioned for the custody of John Grandon who was heir to the deceased Henry and Elizabeth Grandon. The grant was made to the pair, permitting them “to hold the premises from the said death during the idiot’s life, so that he have sufficient maintenance”.⁵⁹ Hampden’s influx of wealth from such methods was soon recognized with a social promotion as he was knighted on 10 November 1449.⁶⁰ That same year his grants were exempted from the act of resumption in parliament specifically because of his position in the queen’s household.⁶¹ Such gains did not go unnoticed as Hampden’s association with the duke and his perceived undue influence earned him a public denouncement in the parliament of 1450.⁶² Hampden remained committed to the Lancastrians throughout the Wars of the Roses, becoming chamberlain to Edward, Prince of Wales during his long exile in the 1460s. Had the Lancastrians achieved victory in 1471, his prospects would have

56 *CPR, Henry VI, 1436-1441*, col. 3, p. 579; *CPR Henry VI, 1446-52*, pp. 586-7, 593.

57 *CPR Henry VI, 1436-41*, pp. 66, 70, 99, 139, 184; *CPR Henry VI, 1446-52*, p. 107.

58 *CPR Henry VI, 1436-41*, p. 386

59 *CPR Henry VI 1441-46*, p. 452. David Roffe, “Perceptions of Insanity in Medieval England,” *The Haskins Society Journal Japan* 5 (2013): 27-32; Irina Metzler, *Fools and Idiots? Intellectual Disability in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2016).

60 *CPR Henry VI, 1446-52*, pp. 311, 549.

61 “Henry VI: November 1449,” *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, eds Given-Wilson et al., *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/november-1449>>, accessed 12 September 2016.

62 See “Henry VI: November 1450,” eds Given-Wilson et al., *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/november-1450>>, accessed 12 September 2016.

brightened considerably in the household of the future king, but the cause was irrevocably lost at Tewkesbury, and Hampden was slain in the fighting.⁶³

One particularly strong illustration that not only encompasses the aforesaid features of a late medieval power-broker, but the upward mobility that even a more mundane household position afforded an individual, can be exhibited with the career of Sir Thomas Montgomery. Described with disdain by Colin Richmond as “the trimmer who died in his bed”, Montgomery was a knight of the body for the entirety of Edward IV’s reign.⁶⁴ Unlike Hastings, Wenlock, and Hampden, Montgomery managed to halt the wheel of fortune at its apex, avoiding the tragic falls so many of his peers endured by navigating successfully every political ebb and flow of the Wars of the Roses. His advancement from a relatively unknown figure to a political power-broker came entirely through his position in the household. Prior to 1461, Montgomery faced the obscure prospects of a younger son who lacked a proper endowment, subsisting on little beyond a £23 royal annuity.⁶⁵ His outlook underwent a radical transformation. During his tenure in the household, he received annuities totaling £60 from the fee farms of Norwich, Norfolk, and Suffolk in addition to valuable wardships.⁶⁶ Further supplementing his gains were the grants of offices which advanced Montgomery’s regional interests primarily in Essex and nearby East Anglia.⁶⁷ In 1472, the potential threat posed by the restoration of Sir Ralph Verney was avoided as the king exempted Montgomery from enduring any loss from the move and instead compensated Verney with lands around London.⁶⁸ The wealth of this formerly poor younger son had increased to such an extent that by June 1463 he was able to lend the king the sum of £80 – nearly four years of income prior to his rise in station – for purchase of a “gret dyaman”.⁶⁹ In addition to the rewards he acquired from the king, Montgomery’s status was publicly confirmed by his participation in court ceremony. In 1467, he took part in the opening proceedings to the joust between Anthony

63 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vol. 5, p. 104.

64 Richmond, *Paston Family: Endings*, p. 147, 147n. Montgomery is also referred to as a carver and sewer on occasion in the early years of the reign.

65 J.R. Lander, *Government and Community: England, 1450-1509* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 51.

66 TNA, C 81/1510, no. 6; CPR: *Edward IV, I, 1461-8*, pp. 125, 180; CPR: *Edward IV, II, 1467-77*, p. 538; CPR: *Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1476-1485*, pp. 206, 238.

67 CPR, 1461-8, pp. 18, 46, 79, 121, 367; CPR, 1467-77, pp. 173, 528; CPR, 1476-85, p. 173. Montgomery was also made steward of Anne, Dowager Duchess of Buckingham’s Essex estates for which he paid £6 13s. 4d. See TNA, SC 6/1117, no. 11; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 107-8.

68 CPR *Edward IV, 1467-77*, p. 329.

69 TNA, DL 37/32, no. 60.

Wydeville, Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy. Montgomery served as one of the Bastard's attendants on the second day of the event.⁷⁰ It is rather telling that he was the only active participant in the ceremony who was not a member of the peerage, suggesting again the strong connection between himself and the king. Moreover, part of a power-broker's influence relied upon their visible connection to the king and rituals such as the joust, and Montgomery's later creation as a Knight of the Garter in 1476, served to reinforce his status visibly for domestic and foreign observers. When the French king, Louis XI, sought to bribe the most influential figures in the English court to support the Treaty of Picquigny during Edward IV's invasion in 1475, Montgomery was singled out for a pension of 1,200 crowns (£200) and a gift of plate to support the peace policy.⁷¹ The French writer Philippe de Commynes identified Montgomery as one of Edward's "chief intimates".

Yet a political power-broker was more than the recipient of royal patronage. Brokers expressed their own influence that was visible within the political framework of their contemporaries. The manner in which Montgomery accomplished this can be determined through several sources. The first and clearest method was through the various avenues of service he undertook for the crown. In addition to being a royal councilor, on 15 September 1462 Montgomery was appointed keeper of the mint within the Tower of London, a post which he held until 26 October 1468.⁷² He served as the sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk and was named as a JP in Essex for every commission of the peace there for both Edward and Richard III's reigns.⁷³ These local offices were backed by royal authority and served to promote Montgomery's standing in his native region as he heard public complaints and relayed communal issues back to the king. Further evidence attesting to the knight's influence in action is evident in a surviving letter, penned sometime between 1463 and 1467 by Sir Thomas Cook. The letter requested Montgomery to intercede with the king on the matter of a house in London which Edward wished to be let to Neapolitan merchants. Unfortunately for Cook, the property had already been

70 *Excerpta Historica*, ed. S. Bentley (1831), p. 210.

71 Charles D. Ross, *Edward IV* (London and New Haven, 1974), p. 234; Philippe de Commynes, *The Universal Spider: The Life of Louis XI of France*, ed. and trans. Paul Kendall (London, 1973), pp. 181-2.

72 *CPR Edward IV, 1461-67*, p. 213; *CPR Edward IV, 1467-77*, p. 112.

73 *CPR Henry VI, 1461-67*, pp. 260, 563-4; *CPR Edward IV, 1467-77*, p. 618; *CPR Richard III, 1476-85*, p. 559. See also TNA, E 159/240 Brevia Directa St. Hilary Term 3 Edward IV, rots. 5v-6v, 22v; E 159/239 Brevia Directa, St. Hilary Term, 2 Edward IV, rot. 17r. The Paston correspondence illuminates Montgomery's activity as sheriff in the region. See *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vol. 4, pp. 14-17.

promised to another, prompting him to petition Montgomery in writing to ask the knight to move the king to release him from the initial agreement so that he might satisfy all parties.⁷⁴ In his endless pursuit to win the king's support for his dispute over Caister Castle, Sir John Paston wrote to his brother to

remember my materes bothe to the Kynge and to my lorde [...] iff the season be convenient [...] Syr T. Mongomere wille labore both the Kynge and my lorde to entrete my Lorde off Norffolk, my lady hys wyff, and ther consell, to do for me all that reason wyll.⁷⁵

Montgomery was again called upon to exert his influence on behalf of the Cely family on 5 November 1481. Richard Cely the younger wrote to his brother at Calais regarding an accusation spoken against him in the matter of poaching a hart.⁷⁶ A gift of "the whalew of a pype whyn" was given to Montgomery on the exchange of a promise to be a "good master to howr father and us in the matter". A subsequent letter on 28 November stated that Montgomery had lived up to his promise, as Cely had procured a writ of *supersedeas* for the poaching indictment. It had been acquired from the earl of Essex, the king's lieutenant of the forest. Cely noted the favor "haue coste myche mony"; however, he adds matters could have been worse if "Sur Thomas Mongewmbre had not beyn howr good master hyt wholld a coste myche mor".⁷⁷ By the end of Edward IV's reign, the influence Montgomery had gained through his household office had yielded sufficient grants of land by which his influence had become entrenched to the point that his standing was identified by domestic and foreign observers. The permanent nature of his grants made him powerful enough to be worth courting by Richard III. In his search for support after his usurpation, Richard granted Montgomery estates in Essex worth £412 per annum, which was nearly the income of a baron.⁷⁸ A position in the household was a significant development in the career and power of Montgomery, as it was through this office that his influence reached heights unimaginable prior to his initial appointment in 1461.

74 *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book*, eds M.L. Kekewich, C. Richmond, A.F. Sutton, L. Visser-Fuchs and J.L. Watts (Stroud, 1995), pp. 81, 265.

75 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vol. 5, pp. 223-4.

76 *The Cely Letters, 1472-1488*, ed. Alison Hanham, Early English Text Society, 273 (Oxford, 1975), p. 119.

77 *Cely Letters*, ed. Hanham, pp. 125-6.

78 *CPR Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1476-85*, p. 431; Lander, *Government and Community*, p. 51.

England was ruled from the royal household by reason of the simple fact that it was the location where the sovereign was based. The monarch's will reached the furthest reaches of the country through the labor of the power-brokers who mediated and in turn transmitted royal authority on behalf of the crown and their own interests. Through the lens of royal patronage and service, the gift-giving strategies of the provincial towns, the annotated parliamentary provisos, and surviving gentry correspondence, a fuller picture of the manner by which a household official developed into a political power-broker emerges. As members of the *familia regis*, household servants were well placed to reap patronage through their royal access. This in turn afforded them greater political activity on the national and local stage. Moreover, the regular contact with the king significantly added to their wealth and prestige, sparking incredible upward social mobility. This process occurred in different ways for different officials by reason of the diverse range of responsibilities, but for the majority of officers, power came through the commodity that was royal access which could be employed to the benefit of the throngs of suitors seeking the king's ear. This not only helped the suitor, but provided additional monetary rewards for the power-broker in addition to cementing the official's status as an effective good lord which would encourage further cultivation by other suitors. The household was thus an institution of great importance not only to the monarch, but to the hundreds of servants operating within it. It was through this site that obscure individuals could become prominent men of wealth and influence. The opportunity for such striking changes grew as the household became larger throughout the fifteenth century and the indispensable role of the power-brokers in the government of the realm intensified.⁷⁹

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79 Hicks, *Political Culture*, pp. 92-3; D.A.L. Morgan, "The King's Affinity in the Polity of Yorkist England", *TRHS*, 5th ser. 23 (1973): pp. 25-70, at pp. 105, 142.

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“Our Servants Say Scandalous Things about You:” Royal Households in the Fourteenth-Century Crown of Aragon

Alana Lord

Between November 1377 and June 1378, King Pere III (r. 1336-1387) and his heir apparent, Joan I (r. 1387-1396), exchanged a series of letters that offer a unique view of the relationships and power structures within the royal households of the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon.¹ These documents – twenty-nine in total – narrate the prosecution of eight Jews charged with buying stolen pieces of the consecrated host with the intention of desecrating them. As the governor general of Aragon, Joan held the authority to carry out an investigation and try those accused.² Throughout the missives, however, Pere voiced his displeasure at the persistence and viciousness with which the prince and his officials conducted the judicial process. Noting that Joan subjected the Jews to months of imprisonment, excruciating torture, and, in two cases, execution by burning, even after the Christian thief who implicated them recanted his story, Pere accused his son and the members of his household of having ulterior motives. On multiple occasions, the king declared that they pursued the accusations more for “the destruction of the Jewish communities than for justice or out of concern for the Catholic faith.”³ In response, Joan insisted that his household would carry out justice against any who imperiled the body of Christ, as a good Christian ruler ought to do.⁴

These letters are indicative of more than a familial squabble between father and son. They hint at a deep conflict over policy and authority. An analysis of these documents from the perspective of royal households reveals that the

1 Many of these letters have been transcribed by Joaquim Miret i Sans in “El procés de les hòsties contra els jueus d’Osca de 1377,” *Anuari d’institut d’Estudis Catalans* 4 (1911): 63-79.

2 For information about the governor general during the reign of Pere III, see Thomas N. Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford, 1986), p. 117.

3 “[...] qui aço us dona entendre vol mes destrucció de les aljames que justícia ne bona fe catholica.” Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería Real, Registro (hereafter referred to as ACA, CR, R.) 1260, fol. 186v (December 12, 1377); R. 1259, fol. 134r (December 31, 1377); R. 1262, fol. 10v (January 26, 1378).

4 ACA, CR, R. 1723, fols. 62v-63r (February 4, 1378).

king, the prince, and their respective officials established for themselves competing spheres of power. Alex Brondarbit's essay in this volume presents medieval English royal officials as power-brokers who used their positions within the king's household to obtain and exercise authority through their connection with the monarch. Whereas Brondarbit draws attention to the individual domains of influence officials enjoyed within the king's household, the letters between Joan and Pere suggest that spheres of power in the Crown of Aragon were also defined by their distinct households.⁵ Functioning as administrative units for the itinerant royals, the households headed by Joan and Pere faced off in an impassioned exchange concerning the nature and limitations of royal power.⁶ This communication conveyed through royal letters challenges the traditional historical perception that royal households were cohesive in their political ideology.⁷ My analysis of these letters and their content allows me to consider these organizations concretely as animated organisms comprised of members with their own aspirations and reactions, rather than as abstract structures.⁸

The prosecution of the eight Jews in Huesca represented one axis around which the discourse between Joan and Pere took place. This was due to the fact that the Jews and the outcome of the investigation represented in stark terms the relative strength or weakness of the sovereign. For Pere, protecting the Crown's Jews demonstrated his power because they belonged exclusively to the king and provided a significant source of revenue to the royal fisc. But Pere's reliance on the Jews to define his power also represented a point of vulnerability. Joan portrayed Pere's relationship with the Jews as a lapse in the king's commitment to Christendom, a move that enabled the prince and

5 Alex Brondarbit, "Political Power-Brokers in the Fifteenth Century English Royal Household," Chapter 8 in this volume.

6 Marta VanLandingham, *Transforming the State: King, Court and Political Culture in the Realms of Aragon (1213-1387)* (Leiden, 2002), p. 26.

7 This traditional perception is encouraged by a snapshot approach to political history that tends to focus on each ruler one at a time. See Rafael Tasis i Marca, *Pere el Cerimoniós i els seus fills: el segle XIV*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona, 1980); Teófilo F. Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis: 1300-1474* (Cambridge, 2007); and Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*.

8 Studies of royal households in the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon are rare and, with the exception of Marta VanLandingham's *Transforming the State*, do not offer more than a passing glance at their development. See J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*, vol. I (Oxford, 1976-1978); Thomas Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*; and Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis*. This brevity may be connected to the fact that Pere III and his two sons represent the end of a dynasty soon to be replaced by a more famous bloodline.

the members of his household to boost their own power at the king's expense and shape rulership to their own political advantage.

Approaches to the Sources

Due to the growing bureaucracy and the consolidation of royal power taking place throughout Western Europe, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed a wave of royal codifications.⁹ The king's household represented his political being, as well as his domestic establishment. As a result, rulers often attempted to shape its organization to reflect an idealized structuring of their sovereignty in miniature, positioning themselves as the preeminent governing authorities. Consequently, palatine codes present a prescriptive model of the organization and operation of the medieval royal household, offering scholars insight into the theoretical workings of this institution.

Participating in this political trend, Pere III promoted a set of palatine ordinances in 1344. While the ordinances served to increase the efficiency of his household, they also enabled Pere to identify clearly his place in it. Envisioning the royal household as a unified unit in which the king stood as the locus of power, Pere's *Ordenacions de cort* described and ranked the duties of each position as they related to him both as an individual and his ability to govern. These positions, which include everything from royal falconer to confessor, are categorized neatly under four superior offices: the steward, the chamberlain, the chancellor, and the treasurer.¹⁰ Implying that the king represented the head of a body politic, Pere introduced his ordinances by stating,

The ordering of government is fine and pleasing when the various offices are distributed among different people, as is found in the human body, in which the different duties are relegated to the various members, resulting in the elegance and perfection of the entire body.¹¹

9 In the Crown of Aragon, Pere II (r. 1276-1285), Alfons II (r. 1285-1291), and Jaume II (r. 1291-1327) implemented palatine ordinances. In France, Louis IX (r. 1226-1270) revised a set of court ordinances in 1261. In Castile, Alfonso X's (r. 1252-1284) *Siete Partidas* dealt with the roles of the officials in his court. See VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*; and Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2001).

10 Francisco M. Gimeno Blay, Daniel Gozalbo, and Josep Trenchs, eds. *Ordenacions de la casa i cort de Pere el Cerimoniós* (Valencia, 2009).

11 Translation found in VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, p. 108-109. For the original, see Blay, *Ordenacions*, pp. 51-52.

Pere used his *Ordenacions* to assert his dominance over all others in the administrative structure, and he suggested that such a hierarchical ordering was natural and obediently adhered to by all of his subjects.

Previous scholarship has used Pere's *Ordenacions* to analyze the king's political objectives and to examine the demographics of the royal household.¹² Recently, Marta VanLandingham compared codes implemented by rulers in the kingdoms of Aragon and Mallorca to track the bureaucratization of the royal household.¹³ Her analysis of royal households in the medieval Crown of Aragon, however, remains a study of the institutions rather than of the people comprising them because the prescriptive nature of the palatine ordinances tends to obscure relationships and power dynamics.

The letters exchanged between Pere and Joan in 1377 and 1378 about the host desecration case in Huesca offer rare access to the dynamic political negotiations that took place within the royal household. Such missives were part of the regular correspondence between Pere and his sons, Joan and Martí. Ranging widely in subject matter from hunting to the execution of royal orders, these documents reflect the complex relationship that the two princes had with their father as both his sons and his officials.¹⁴ Previous scholarship has examined the letters concerning the host desecration case solely from the angle of interfaith relations in medieval Iberia, a line of analysis that has proven fruitful in challenging assumptions about the riots of 1391 and understanding the medieval development of Christian identity.¹⁵ Adopting the approach taken by Michael Ryan and Suzanne Cawsey, who have employed untraditional sources such as occult writings and royal speeches to show how

12 Olivetta Schena, *Le Leggi Palatine de Pietro IV di Aragona* (Cagliari, 1983); and Blay, "Introduction" in *Ordenacions*, pp. 12-48.

13 VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*. In *The Princely Court*, Vale takes a similar approach to palatine codes in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England.

14 Pere gave Joan the title of governor general of Aragon in 1363, and he made Martí the steward of Catalonia in 1368 and his lieutenant in Valencia in 1378. Theresa Earenfight, "Martín the Humane, King of Aragón," in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. E. Michael Gerli (New York, 2003), p. 547.

15 Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 109-115; Alexandra Guerson de Oliveira, "Coping with Crisis: Christian-Jewish Relations in Catalonia and Aragon, 1380-1391," PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2012, pp. 162-165; David Nirenberg, "Massacre or Miracle? Valencia, 1391," in *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today* (Chicago, 2014), pp. 75-88, on p. 77; and Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman (Philadelphia, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 37-42.

rulers constructed and legitimized power, I intend to use the letters to investigate Aragonese royal households in motion.¹⁶

Whereas Pere's *Ordenacions* present an idealized portrait of the composition of the king's household solely from his perspective, the conversational nature of the missives, while stylized to a certain degree, reveals an interplay between King Pere and Prince Joan. In addition, attention to the written perspectives of the king and prince sheds light on their realistic relationships with their officials and the actions of these figures, neither of which are often prioritized in other types of sources. The image manifested in these documents upsets the established belief that the royal family was united against other monolithic groups, such as the nobility, or the municipalities.¹⁷ It indicates that individual agendas within the royal households transcended estate divisions, forcing members of the nobility, as well as the king and crown prince, to choose opposing sides in the struggle over the limitation of royal power.

The royal letters also serve to confirm and expand Theresa Earenfight's theory that medieval rulership was collaborative in character, allowing for "a plurality of power arrangements that permitted a range of power-sharing options situated in dispersed and localized sites."¹⁸ Earenfight's study focuses on the reign of Maria of Castile (r. 1416-1458), but her conclusion that power within the monarchy resides in queens, as well as kings, has implications that extend beyond royal marital relations. This essay will confirm the complexity and elasticity of medieval rulership by analyzing the active role that Joan's household played, as seen through the lens of the letters concerning the host desecration case. Significantly, power in the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon also resided in princes and their entourages.

Competing Spheres of Power

The twenty-nine letters exchanged between November 1377 and June 1378 concerning the host desecration case in Huesca reflect the discord and competition for power between Pere and Joan and their households. The aggressive,

16 Michael Ryan, *A Kingdom of Stargazers: Astrology and Authority in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Ithaca, 2011); and Suzanne F. Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon, c. 1200-1450* (Oxford, 2002).

17 See footnote 7 for examples of scholarship that reflect this established depiction.

18 Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body: María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia, 2010), p. 13. This theory is also supported by Brondarbit's argument, in this volume, that many English officials in the royal household were able to shape monarchical benevolence and policy in their favor and for the benefit of others.

relentless measures taken by Joan against a small number of Jews who had been charged on flimsy evidence raised the king's suspicion that the prince and his men had motives beyond safeguarding the Eucharist. On the other hand, Pere's repetitious plea for Joan to halt the trials and protect the Jews – both in Huesca and at large in the Crown of Aragon – indicates that his anxiety extended beyond mere concern for his subjects. At stake for Pere and the crown prince, as well as their two households in this seemingly insignificant conflict was the power to govern the realms.

As the investigation in Huesca progressed, both Pere and Joan, in an increasingly hostile sparring of words, sought to depict the other as an irresponsible leader presiding over an unprincipled and misdirected household. Like medieval England and France, Aragonese rulers, their spouses, and their children were often heads of their own itinerant households that were comprised of analogous administrative structures.¹⁹ Joan's household included many of the same officials described in Pere's *Ordenacions*: a chancellor, a vice chancellor, scribes, clerks, a confessor, almoners, prosecutors, and others.²⁰ From Pere's perspective, Joan was too reactionary and too easily swayed by the members of his household at the expense of the Crown's interests. Pere's fears were not unfounded. In fact, officials within royal households across Western Europe had a great degree of influence on rulers and other members of the royal family. This fact encouraged nobles seeking favor with the king to flock around William Hastings, chamberlain to Edward IV of England (r. 1461-1470), and Louis XI of France (r. 1461-1483) tried to bribe officials in the English household to support the Treaty of Picquigny in 1475.²¹ Recognizing the persuasive effect that royal officials could have, Pere admonished Joan that

You ought to guard against the threats that touch our liege, but instead you punish the Jewish community without reason and under the influence of your bad councilors. We ask that you act in accordance with the plan that I have set out for you.²²

¹⁹ Vale, *The Princely Court*, p. 16.

²⁰ ACA, CR, R. 1723, fol. 62v (February 4, 1378) and R. 1722, fol. 210r (February 4, 1378).

²¹ Brondarbit, "Political Power-Brokers in the Fifteenth Century English Royal Household," chapter 8 in this volume.

²² "Vos deuem guardar que los crims que toquen nostre lig sien punits mas que sens rao les aljames no sien mal menades. Per que tenim per be et volem eus pregam que segons que ja altre vegada vos hauiem escrit nos trametats lo process [...]." ACA, CR, R. 1259, fol. 134r (December 31, 1377).

It is significant that Pere did not identify specific members of Joan's council as "bad." Although Pere most likely wished to avoid confrontation that might spark further opposition, his choice of words also suggests that the king viewed Joan and his council as a coherent whole under the umbrella of his authority. Therefore, it was not just one counselor who was remiss in his intentions and actions, but all of the members.

Pere supported his claim that Joan and his household acted impulsively by referencing an analogous situation that took place ten years before.²³ In 1367, in the face of the king's admonitions, the prince and his household tortured and executed Jews from the Barcelona community for attempted host desecration. Joan conducted the trials without sufficient evidence and based on false testimony.²⁴ By recalling this previous miscalculation, Pere questioned Joan's judgment and discredited his officials' capacity to guide him in his duties as the governor general.

In contrast, Joan portrayed Pere as more concerned about the safety of the Jews than he was about upholding the law or protecting the body of Christ, key characteristics of a good ruler.²⁵ When the prince learned that the Jews of Huesca had complained to the king about his overzealous approach, Joan angrily warned Pere not to challenge or punish him, but instead to consider the burden of his soul and remember the grace that God had given him. Towards the end of the letter he declares,

And in good faith, Senyor, consider that the body of God is in peril while it is in the possession of the Jews. I, Senyor, believe that I would have already found the said sacred hosts if not for the delays you decreed through your letters.²⁶

And in a subsequent missive, Joan responded to Pere's accusations that the members of his household influenced him to act in their interest at the expense of the Crown, stating "I have such a solemn council here that we are able to carry out justice in the matter and also in the much higher sense concerning all

23 ACA, CR, R. 1260, fol. 186v (December 12, 1377).

24 For documents concerning the 1367 case in Barcelona, see Yitzhak Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien. Erster Teil. Urkunden und Regesten* (Berlin, 1929-1936), vol. 1, pp. 399-406.

25 Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda*, pp. 2-7.

26 "E a bona fe Senyor, sguardat que lo cors de Deu ese n poder de juheus es peril en la triga; jo, Senyor enten et crech que jo haguera trobades les dites osties conegrades si no fossen, Senyor, los alongaments que vos me havets manats ab vostres letres." ACA, C, R. 1723, fol. 63r (February 4, 1378).

types of injustice and partiality.”²⁷ Statements such as these enabled Joan to create a dichotomy that set the king and his household, in alliance with the Jews, against the prince and his household, in alliance with Christian values. As I will discuss further below, Joan would list the names of his household members in a subsequent letter, shedding light on their backgrounds and interests, but at this moment, the prince sought to portray himself as the head of an indivisible organization, separate from Pere’s household. Furthermore, he appears to have used the prosecution of the Jews accused in Huesca and his father’s resistance to it to portray his household as a political foil to the king and his men and in turn, to boost its power at the expense of his father’s household.

The tension between households stemmed from Pere’s aim of consolidating royal power. As demonstrated by his *Ordenacions*, which presented the duties of each official in association with the king’s ability and right to rule, Pere wished to present himself as the pinnacle of a political structure in which power flowed downward at his discretion.²⁸ Pere wanted Joan and his household to comply obediently with his established approach to the Jewish communities, and thus his authority as the ultimate governing figure in the kingdom.

Pere’s desire to expand monarchical power was neither novel nor unique to the Crown of Aragon. In Castile, Alfonso XI (r. 1313-1350) asserted control over urban centers and stymied challenges from the nobility by making the appointment of *regidores*, or town representatives, the prerogative of the king.²⁹ As demonstrated by Jaume de Montjuïc (c.1250-1321), some Catalan thinkers even supported the idea of unrestricted royal power. In his popular commentary on the *Usatges of Barcelona*, de Montjuïc argued that the count of Catalonia was subject to no law nor any authority other than his own.³⁰ But unlike other monarchies in Western Europe, the kings of Aragon had neither the revenue nor the military strength to guarantee the imposition of royal power. On the contrary, when rulers sought to engage in war or other efforts that came with financial costs or required troops, they could often only do so by appealing to

27 “[...] jo havem tal e tant solemne consell aci que parria fos bastant a fer justícia no solament en lo dit fet, mas en molt major sens tot scrupol de injustícia e parcialitat.” ACA, CR, R. 1723, fol. 51v (January 6, 1378).

28 VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, pp. 108-114.

29 Marvin Lunenfeld, *Keepers of the City: The Corregidores of Isabella I of Castile, 1474-1504* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 11, 15.

30 Francisco Elías de Tejada, *Las doctrinas políticas en la Cataluña medieval* (Barcelona, 1950), pp. 178-79.

the nobility and municipalities for support.³¹ Because these groups retained power over the monarchy's endeavors, kings were traditionally viewed as first among equals; as leaders who acted with the guidance of their subjects and with an eye to their objectives and aspirations.³² This type of relationship made room, to at least some degree, for the crown prince, the nobility, and municipalities to participate in the governance of the kingdom.

The monarchy's lack of resources forced Pere to find alternative means that would enable him to act singularly without anyone else's input or approval, including that of Joan and his officials. Jewish revenue represented one of the primary tools Pere used to lessen the crown's dependence on the nobility and municipalities.³³ Records indicate that Pere required the Jews to pay more in taxes and subsidies per person than his other Christian or Muslim subjects, making them a principle source of revenue for the royal fisc.³⁴ In conjunction with Jewish revenue, Pere also filled his own household with professionally trained lawyers and non-nobles to administer his realms, allowing him to reduce the number and influence of the nobility in government. These men were from good families, but their modest wealth and power made them easier

31 Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda*, p. 18. See also, Donald Kagay, "The National Defense Clause and the Emergence of the Catalan State: *Princeps namque* Revisited," in *War, Government, and Society in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 57-97.

32 Donald Kagay, "Rule and Mis-Rule in Medieval Iberia" in *War, Government, and Society*, pp. 111-135.

33 Rulers throughout Western Europe used Jews to demonstrate and expand their royal power. In contrast to Pere, who attempted to protect his power by protecting the Jews, other kings exhibited their exclusive power over their subjects by punishing or expelling the Jews. For example, Michael Prestwich places Edward I's (r. 1272-1307) expulsion of England's Jews in 1290 within the context of the *Quo Warranto* inquiries, the feud between the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, and the king's battle to claim suzerainty over Scottish lands. Expelling the Jews not only provided the king with revenue necessary to further his political objectives, it also demonstrated his authority in the realm. Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 344-352. Similarly, Robert Chazan in *Reassessing Jewish Life in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2010) and John W. Baldwin in *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986) examine the reigns of French rulers such as Philip Augustus (r. 1180-1223) and argue that despoliations and expulsions were not solely connected to the development of Jewish persecution, but contributed to the consolidation of royal power.

34 For the specific amounts collected from Christians, Muslims, and Jews, see John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven, 1977), p. 226, f. 120; David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996), p. 174; and Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1978), pp. 45-46.

for the king to control.³⁵ In addition, he sought to establish firmer monarchical control over municipal governments by constricting the authority of city officials. For example, in 1352, he ordered a royal official to preside over the election of municipal officers in Huesca, a move designed to ensure the appointment of people who supported the king's political objectives.³⁶ Together, these steps facilitated Pere's suppression of competing political voices.

The letters concerning the host desecration case in Huesca point to the reasons why Joan and his household chose to challenge the expansion of monarchical power by pursuing accusations against Jews. In response to his father's accusations that Joan's agents were untrustworthy and ill-intentioned, the prince listed the names and positions of some of the members of his household.³⁷ Many of these men, including Johan Eximenez Durrea, Pere Arnau de França and Garcia Lopez de Sesse belonged to well-established noble families from Huesca and the surrounding countryside. Joan also mentioned Miguel Capella, Domingo Palomar, Fortún de Liso, Jacme del Spital, and the "Jurats de la Ciutat de Çeragoça," and this reference suggests that prominent citizens from Huesca and Zaragoza found a place on his council.³⁸ Even more surprising, Joan listed his younger brother Martí as a member of his council, indicating that both sons opposed their father's objective and shaped an image of themselves in opposition to it.³⁹ Since the king probably already knew who

35 Earenfight, *The King's Other Body*, p. 33; and VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, pp. 47, 67.

36 ACA, CR, R. 896, fol. 15r (May 10, 1352).

37 ACA, CR, R. 1723, fols. 62r-v (February 4, 1378).

38 Pere III mentions Pere Arnau de França and Johan Eximenez Durrea (Lord of Biota and of Bayó) in his chronicle. Pere el Cerimoniós, *Pere III of Catalonia: Chronicle*, trans. Mary Hillgarth (Toronto, 1980), vol. 2, pp. 412, 417, 433, 434. Garcia Lopez de Sesse is described as a noble in the court proceedings from the case of Bernat de Cabrera in 1364. See Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, ed., *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon* (Barcelona, 1847), vol. 2, p. 517. Miguel Capella, Domingo Palomar, Fortún de Liso, and Jacme del Spital are listed as *ciudadanos* and *vecinos* in Zaragoza and Huesca in Jerónimo Zurita's *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, 2nd (Zaragoza, 1668), pp. 367. Information about the other names listed in Joan's letter is sparse. For example, little is known about Joan's chancellor, Bernat dez Pont, except that he continued to rise in the ranks, eventually becoming Martí's councilor. See Mateu Rodrigo Lizondo, ed., *Col·lecció documental de la Cancelleria de la Corona d'Aragó: Textos en llengua catalana (1291-1420)* (Valencia, 2013), p. 82.

39 Björn Weiler argues that the exclusion of crown princes from governance encouraged a trend of rebellions across Western Europe. See "Kings and Sons: Princely Rebellions and the Structures of Revolt in Western Europe, c. 1170-c.1280," *Historical Research* 82:215 (2009): 17-40.

comprised Joan's council, it seems reasonable to conclude that Joan's list was intended to show off the power and backing that his household enjoyed.

The inclusion of these names and groups points to an interesting connection. Both Johan Eximenez Durrea and Pere Arnau de França participated in the Aragonese *Unión* that had opposed Pere's political and economic high-handedness in 1347.⁴⁰ This organization presented the king with grievances that reflected their desire to maintain influence over the governance of the realms. When Pere refused to modify his policies, the *Unión* adopted a military approach. Seeking to impede the king's steady encroachment on their jurisdiction, civic leaders in the Crown of Aragon, including those from Huesca and Zaragoza, supported the *Unión's* cause and contributed troops.⁴¹ In 1348, however, Pere emerged victorious from a violent battle at Epila, and in a show of power, he exiled and executed numerous high-status rebels and fined cities for their disloyalty.⁴² It was apparent that those who wished to maintain a weak monarchy would have to find another way to restrict the king's power.

Since all the Jewish communities of the kingdom technically belonged to the Crown, Joan and his officials could not prevent Pere from collecting from them.⁴³ They could, however, drive the Jews and their money out of the king's

40 Johan Eximenez Durrea the elder died in battle against Pere in 1348. The Johan mentioned in the letters was most probably a surviving son who also participated in the *Unión*. Pere el Cerimoniós, *Pere III of Catalonia*, vol. 2, p. 434.

41 Huesca was fined 46,000 *sueldos* for its support of the *Unión*. AMHu, Libro de Privilegios, I, ff (1361). For Huesca's role in the rebellion, see Teresa Iranzo Muño, *Élites políticas y gobierno urbano en Huesca en la Edad Media* (Huesca, 2005), pp. 193-198; and Pere el Cerimoniós, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, pp. 435-436. Concerning Zaragoza, Pere's chronicle reveals that the city was the place of origin for the *Unión* in Aragon, and the "host of Zaragoza" represented a large portion of rebel forces that fought at Epila. Pere el Cerimoniós, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, pp. 397, 412, 434.

42 Pere III, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, pp. 397-449; J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516*, vol. 1, pp. 369-371; and Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, pp. 107-109.

43 Scholars disagree about what it meant for Jews to be "*servi camerae nostre*" or serfs of the royal chamber. This legal status, which associated the Jews with the king, was used in the Crown of Aragon beginning in the twelfth century. Salo Wittmayer Baron argues that this status was analogous to serfdom. See *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (New York, 1965), chapter XL, "Serf of the Chamber." Norman Roth, on the other hand, argues that the term reflected a royal effort to protect the Jews and create equality between them and Christians. See "The Civic Status of the Jew in Medieval Spain," in eds P.E. Chevedden, D.J. Kagay and P.G. Padilla, *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Robert I. Burns S.J.* (Leiden, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 139-162. Recent scholarship tends to recognize that the treatment of Jews in the service of the king did not fall into a straightforward pattern, but rather oscillated between protection and

grasp by pursuing accusations against them.⁴⁴ The overaggressive treatment the Jews in Huesca received at the hands of Joan and his officials, so reminiscent of that experienced by the community in Barcelona ten years before, would have stood as a warning to the entire Jewish population. Taken together, the two cases underscored the relative impotence of the king, demonstrating that he was unable to protect the Jews even from his own sons.⁴⁵ Furthermore, this realization would have encouraged Jews throughout the kingdom to consider leaving royal territory. Pere confirmed this when he said in a letter to Joan, "if this is your plan, we urge you and those others near you not to eject [the Jews] [...] because they will move themselves to the lands of prelates and nobles and weaken us."⁴⁶ The fact that Pere needed Jewish revenue to support the expansion of royal power thus made the host desecration accusations in Huesca, and previously in Barcelona, advantageous times for the prince and the members of his household to act. If they could compel the Jewish communities of the Crown to leave royal lands, the king would lose an important resource facilitating the expansion of his power. This loss of independent power would in turn compel him to accept Joan and his men's support and their authority.

exploitation. See Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish Relations, 1000-1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom* (New York, 2011); and David Abulafia, "The King and the Jews: The Jews in the Ruler's Service," in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Christoph Cluse (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 43-54.

44 This argument builds on the theory presented by Prestwich, Chazan, and Jordan that legal persecution, despoliations, and expulsions were not necessarily connected to the development of Jewish persecution, but may be understood as being part of the medieval trend to consolidate royal power. Prestwich, *Edward I*, Chazan, *Reassessing Jewish Life*; Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*; and E.M. Rose, "Royal Power and Ritual Murder: Notes on the Expulsion of the Jews from the Royal Domain of France, 1182," in ed. Katherine L. Jansen, G. Geltner, and Anne E. Lester, *Center and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 51-64, at pp. 62-63.

45 A third case took place in 1383, but in this case it was Pere's nephew the Count of Urgell who pursued host desecration accusations against Jews from Lleida against the king's wishes. ACA, CR, R. 1281, fol. 122v (September 26, 1383).

46 "[...] e segunt veemos si estas maneras tiene ne vos ne los otros qui so es cerca dell non lo tirades de aquello noy fincara aljama en nuestra senyoria antes se mudaran en las tierras de los prelados, ricosombres et caualleros et faran mas mengua a nos a ell que a neguno de vosotros." ACA, CR, R. 1262, fol. 10v (January 26, 1378). Pere was referring solely to himself when he used "nos." This is supported by his contrast of "nos" with "vosotros." This contrast reinforced his underlying message that he, as king, was above all others in the kingdom, including Joan and the members of his household.

Signaling his interest in perpetuating the king's dependency on the nobility and municipalities, the prince emphasized in his letters the cooperative relationship he had with his own officials. On January 6, 1378, Joan explained to his father that he trusted his own officials to manage the interrogation of the defendants in the case carefully and respectfully because his men were wise and acted in accordance with their knowledge.⁴⁷ By portraying his reliance on his officials as natural, the prince intended to demonstrate the virtues of accepting guidance from others. Furthermore, through this statement Joan established authority over his own household, designating it outside the control of the king's domain of influence and thus countering his father's political overreach. Pere, however, believed that such a relationship made Joan weak, and he indicated that it allowed his officials to manipulate the prince in ways that diminished the power of the Crown.⁴⁸ Criticizing Joan's approach to his officials bolstered the king's own political ideals and enabled him to belittle the version of rulership valued by the prince and his household.

By exploring the political motives that Joan and Pere had in continuing or ceasing the investigation and trials in Huesca, I do not intend to suggest that the prince and his household or even the king believed that the Jews were incapable of desecrating the Eucharist. As other scholars have argued, many people in late-medieval society believed that Jews were secretly inclined to harm Christians and to re-create their role in the crucifixion of Christ.⁴⁹ In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Jews in the Crown of Aragon were occasionally accused of kidnapping and crucifying Christian children and of molding *matzah* into an image of Christ and torturing it in various ways.⁵⁰ The rise of Eucharistic devotion in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries encouraged people to consider Eucharistic dignity and potential dangers to it, including threats posed by Jews. The establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi in the royal cities during the 1320s further shaped and propelled the

47 ACA, CR, R. 1723, fol. 51v (January 6, 1378).

48 ACA, CR, R. 1262, fol. 10v (January 26, 1378) and R. 1261, fols. 27v-28v (February 15, 1378)

49 Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, pp. 214-221; Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, p.141; and Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley, 2006), pp. 170-174.

50 Elena Lourie demonstrates the potential for such accusations in her examination of a 1301 incident in which a dead baby was found in the Barcelona Jewish community. "A Plot which Failed? The Case of the Corpse Found in the Jewish *Call* of Barcelona (1301)," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986): 187-220. Israel Yuval argues that these accusations did not emerge from thin air, but were "distortions of a characteristic quality or behavior of Jews." *Two Nations in Your Womb*, p. 167.

birth of a new anti-Jewish narrative.⁵¹ One of the first host desecration accusations recorded in the realm occurred in 1327 in the city of Valencia, and over the course of the next few decades, stories of Jewish host desecration, or at least Jewish contempt for the Eucharist, became common knowledge. By the 1370s, these stories had created an audience that found such accusations to be credible.⁵²

Medieval political ideas and motivations often went hand-in-hand with religious ones.⁵³ Joan and his officials were able both to believe the accusation against the Jews in Huesca, and to utilize it to their own political advantage. The spread of Eucharistic devotion and stories of Jews abusing the host imbued the actions and ideals of the prince and his household with an aura of legitimacy. Completely forbidding the trials would have forced the king to condemn a commonly held view, and it would have supported Joan's implication that Pere was allied with the Jews to the detriment of Christ and Christendom. Pere's quandary gave Joan the confidence to state that

The people are able to know God, Senyor, and they trust in your Catholic intentions [...] The Jews were tortured properly, and if God gives me grace, I will find the stolen sacred hosts, which are in the possession of the unfaithful.⁵⁴

In contrast with the image of a royal household that was united under the supreme leadership of the king, as imagined in Pere's *Ordenacions*, the letters reveal that Pere, Joan, and their households exploited the prosecution of Jews in Huesca to define themselves and show their support for opposing concepts of royal power.

51 Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 164-184; and Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, pp. 28-29.

52 Mark Meyerson, *Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom: Society, Economy, and Politics in Morvedre, 1248-1391* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 90-92. For the accusation in Valencia, see Paola Tartakoff, *Between Christian and Jew: Conversion and Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon, 1250-1391* (Philadelphia, 2012), p. 7.

53 David Nirenberg argues that people in medieval France and Spain carried out cataclysmic and systematic violence against the Jews using contemporary religious language to show their displeasure with royal policies. *Communities of Violence*, p. 48.

54 "[...] ço que Deus ne gents saber poden e dagues haver, Senyor, confian de la vostra catolica intencio...los dits dos juheus turmentats degudament a fi que asseias si Deus me faera tanta de gracia que jo pogues trovar les dites osties consagrades, les quals segons dit es, son en poder de infels." ACA, CR, R. 1723, fol. 63r (February 4, 1378).

Relationships between Royal Households

In addition to multiple spheres of power defined by royal households, the letters exchanged in 1377 and 1378 reveal that members consciously shaped the relationship between the king and the prince to fit their individual political agendas. Their active participation supports recent scholarship that acknowledges the role that a range of figures and groups, besides the king, played in the discourse about rulership.⁵⁵ The missives, however, provide an intimate view of the figures involved in the Crown of Aragon. It is generally believed that the nobility always and uniformly opposed the expansion of royal power.⁵⁶ The letters demonstrate that this was not necessarily true since both households contained members of this estate.

The nobles and municipal elites on Joan's council sought to preserve a strong political voice for themselves. It was to their advantage to prevent the expansion of royal power and support a member of the royal family, and especially an heir to the throne, who recognized their authority. Joan's officials frequently went to speak to the king as representatives of the prince, an action designed to present his household and its views as official and authoritative. In December, his scribe Galceran Dortigues met with Pere in an attempt to prevent further constrictions on Joan's proceedings against the Jews. Notifying Pere of Dortigues's impending visit, Joan explained in a letter that his scribe was "abundantly informed about the present matter." The prince supported Dortigues's objective by imploring Pere "to consider that the body of God is in peril while it is in possession of the Jews."⁵⁷ It seems that Dortigues was not successful in convincing the king to allow the prince free rein in his

55 In *Kingship and Propaganda*, Cawsey demonstrates that the medieval kings of Aragon invested so much of their energy in explanation and exhortation because rulership involved protracted dialogue between the king and his subjects, and especially the *Corts*. In *Transforming the State*, VanLandingham similarly argues that rulers sought to attain their vision of rulership using their officials, as well as by creating institutions and offices. Focusing on a later time period, James M. Boyden examines the relationship between Philip II (r. 1554-1598) and court favorite Ruy Gomez to demonstrate that both the king and the members of his court influenced perceptions of royal authority: *The Courtier and the King: Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain* (Berkeley, 1995).

56 VanLandingham, *Transforming the State*, pp. 5-6; Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon*, pp. 127-12; and Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis*, pp. 65-66.

57 "E per aquest raho, Senyor, tramet jo a la vostra senyoria lo feel scriva me yen Galceran Dortigues del present fet largamente informat. E a bona fe Senyor, sguardat que lo cors de Deu es en poder de juheus es peril en la triga." ACA, CR, R. 1723, fol. 62 (February 4, 1378). See also ACA, CR, R. 1722, fol. 210r (February 5, 1378).

prosecution, because ten days after Dortigues returned to Joan's household, Pere wrote to condemn harshly the actions of his son and his household. He asserted that,

We ought to marvel about this matter [...] your officials have resorted to twists and injustices [...] the Jews wrote to me describing many and various grievances concerning the process and many of them touch truthfully [...] ⁵⁸

Pere clearly believed that Joan's officials were meddling in the investigation and distorting the facts to suit their own interests.

Although the majority of Joan's officials walked a fine line between attempting to prevent the king's consolidation of power and antagonizing him, the letters offer a hint of their contempt for Pere and his policies. As demonstrated by Bernat de Cabrera's fall from grace and execution in 1364, there was risk involved in being too outspoken about one's political views.⁵⁹ In one instance, the prince's chancellor, Bernat dez Pont, lost his composure and severely insulted the king in the presence of Pere's loyal officials. The letters do not reveal what he said, but dez Pont was immediately called before the king to explain his behavior and face punishment. In order to protect his official, Joan humbled himself and wrote to the king asking for mercy for dez Pont. The prince's letter did not survive, but Pere's response reveals his pleasure that Joan had submitted to the king's authority at least for a brief moment. He states, "We have received your letter requesting leniency for Micer Bernat Dez Pont,

58 "Entes ço que en aquella nos hauets fet saber et ço que lo dit Galceran nos ha dit de part vostra uos responem que nous deuets marauellar [...] alguns de nostre uostre consell qui segons ques diu nos son hauts nos han be en aquests afers e menys uos deuets merauellar si alcu ha recors a nos de tort o de injusticia ques diga que los sia feta per uostres officials et que nos sobre aço uos escriuam Per que car Primogenit jassia que per part dels dits juheus sien aci deuant nos proposats molts et diuerses greuges los quals affermen quells son estats fets en lo process contra ells actitat los quals uos trametem closes e segellats ab la present et encara diguen que en la relacio quius nes stada feta se son jaquides moltes coses tocants lo fet de la veritat [...]" ACA, CR, R. 1261, fols. 27v-28r (February 15, 1378).

59 Jesús Mestre i Godes, *El poder i la dignitat: Relat sobre les vides encreuades de Pere III el Cerimoniós i Bernat de Cabrera* (Barcelona, 2005); and Donald Kagay, "The 'Treasons' of Bernat de Cabrera: Government, Law and the Individual in the Late-Medieval Crown of Aragon" in *War, Government, and Society*, pp. 39-53. A parallel may be drawn between Bernat de Cabrera and the English William Hastings, Edward IV's chamberlain, who was executed by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, because Hastings represented a challenge to his authority. Brondarbit, "Political Power-Brokers in the Fifteenth Century English Royal Household," in chapter 8 in this volume.

your conseller, about the words which he has said [...] it pleases us to know that he would never say such things.”⁶⁰ The prince’s men, however, were generally careful to represent themselves and their leader as respectful, yet deserving of a say in the governance of the Crown of Aragon.

Reflecting the complexity of dissent and power structures within the two households, Joan also secretly sought the support of his father’s officials. When Dortigues went to defend Joan’s actions before the king, the prince wrote to Pere de Plà, the king’s protonotary, and Pere Sacosta, his guard at arms. Joan asked them to support Dortigues’s testimony about his household’s actions and intentions in the host desecration case.⁶¹ Subsequent letters do not reveal whether either official acquiesced, but the fact that Joan felt that he could approach them indicates that others beyond the prince’s household were sympathetic to his cause and possibly willing to influence the king in support of it.

Pere’s officials also played a role in bringing Joan and his household into line. They needed to do so in a manner that would emphasize the king’s control over his subjects and minimize the cracks in the royal family that threatened to undermine his political objectives. While Pere relied largely on easily controlled non-nobles, there were a few exceptions. Pere’s chamberlain, Don Lope de Gurrea, was part of the high nobility, but he had proven his loyalty by following the king into battles against the king of Castile, rebels in Sicily, and insubordinate nobles in the Crown of Aragon.⁶² After Dortigues’s unsatisfactory meeting with the king, Pere sent de Gurrea to Huesca to compel Joan to treat the Jews accused in accordance with the law.⁶³ Inserting his officials into the investigation enabled Pere to protect the Jews of Huesca, as well as to show his son that, even though he was the crown prince, he was still a subordinate and subject to his father’s control.

Pere also demonstrated his power by asserting control over Joan’s officials. In December, after Joan executed two of the Jews accused in Huesca without his father’s approval, Pere demanded that Jaume dez Monells, the prince’s vice chancellor, show him the proceedings from the investigation and trials.⁶⁴ According to the king’s letters, the proceedings revealed that Joan and his

60 “Vostra letra havem reebuda continent en acabament que per sguard vostre volguessem benignament oyr et tractar Micer Bernat Des Pont, vostre conceller et promovedor sobre les paraules quins son estades dites dell. Or responem vos que a nos hagre plagut que ell ne altre no hagues dites paraules de que nos nos haguessem moure.” ACA, CR, R. 1261, fol. 113r (June 10, 1378).

61 ACA, CR, R. 1722, fol. 210r (February 4, 1378).

62 Pere el Cerimoniós, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1 and 2, pp. 212, 260, 352, 396, 412, 423, 449, and 489.

63 ACA, CR, R. 1262, fol. 61v (February 26, 1378).

64 ACA, CR, R. 1261, fol. 8v (January 28, 1378) and R. 1723, fol. 62v (February 4, 1378).

household had executed the Jews based on a confession given under torture that had been retracted and that Joan had intentionally withheld pieces of testimony and evidence.⁶⁵ With this in mind, Pere criticized his son, stating “many times it has been seen that because of your hate and malevolence, you start serious affairs that afterwards prove to be nothing.”⁶⁶ By asserting his control over Joan’s officials and disparaging their judicial actions, Pere undercut their self-imaging as figures of authority and emphatically presented himself as the one in control of the realms.

While both Pere and Joan attempted to control the movement of information to suit their own purposes, this proved to be more difficult than either had anticipated, and the whispers that resulted caused further tension between the king and the prince. When Joan received yet another letter from his father questioning the actual intentions of the members of his household, he responded with atypical exasperation, stating “it is apparent, Senyor, that you have been given sinister information, supplied to you by those who are at your mercy [...] or who wish to avoid punishment.”⁶⁷ Considering that it was his overarching goal to present the monarchy as strong and indivisible, it was also disconcerting to Pere when some of his officials began to gossip about Joan’s rebellious behavior. Towards the end of the trials in 1378 he complained to the prince that “it is displeasing to us that our servants say scandalous things about you.”⁶⁸ In general, however, the members of each household were careful to promote respectfully the objectives of either Pere or Joan to suit their own political interests. Pere’s officials understood that maintaining a strong monarchy meant that they retained a position of authority, and Joan’s officials recognized that such was detrimental to their own power in the kingdom. Neither household was interested in facilitating a compromise between the king and his heir apparent. Instead, they exerted effort either to support or prevent the consolidation of royal power, which served to increase tension between households. Consequently, in addition to the king, the prince and the

65 ACA, CR, R. 1261, fol. 8v (January 28, 1378).

66 “[...] moltes vegades es estat vist que per odi et maluolença son estades posades moltes coses greus qui despuys no eren res.” ACA, CR, R. 1262, fol. 1v (January 8, 1378).

67 “[...] en mon consell, en lo qual foren moltes e diverses grans persones axi ecclesiastiques com seglars e en tota sciencia e cascuna de aquelles dix son vot sobre los merits de aquell segons que en lo dit proces, lo qual, Senyor, per tal com me apar que vos haiats hauda sinistra informacio, tramet a la vostra alta senyors veurets esser largamente contengut, supplicant a vos, Senyor, queus placia per la vostra merce [...]” ACA, CR, R. 1723, fol. 51v (January 6, 1378).

68 “[...] que nos havem desplaer que nostres servidors ne vostres facen ne diguen res mal estant ne escándalos ver nos ne vos.” ACA, CR, R. 1261, fol. 113v (June 10, 1378).

officials in their respective households played a significant role in shaping the discourse about rulership in the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon.

The Parameters of Royal Households

By the summer of 1378, the investigation and trials in Huesca had come to an end, along with the heated exchange between Pere and Joan. This was not because Joan and his officials had determined that the accused Jews were innocent, but because the prince fell ill, making it impossible for him to continue either the prosecution or the power struggle with his father.⁶⁹ While the letters exchanged between the king and the prince in 1377 and 1378 represent a brief period of time, no more than seven months, they demonstrate a significant difference in perceptions about the relationship between the households headed by Pere and Joan. The *Ordenacions* suggest that all royal households were necessarily unified under the king, an assumption that continues to influence scholarship today.⁷⁰ However, subsidiary households developed their relationship with the king to fit their varying political ideals.

From Pere's perspective, all of the royal households were subject to his power and consequently should act with one political mindset, one that suited the king's supreme authority. Tracing the gradual abstraction of the Crown and the concept that emerged in the later Middle Ages that the king as the representative of royal authority never dies, Ernst Kantorowicz argued that the crown was the "visible material with which the prince was invested and [...] invisible and immaterial encompassing all the rights and privileges indispensable for the government of the body politic."⁷¹ As king, Pere believed that he had unconstrained authority throughout the realms, including over subsidiary royal households like that managed by Joan. It did not matter that Joan and his household travelled as a little *demimonde* physically detached from Pere's household. They were still subject to the king's authority and, perhaps more significantly, they represented it.⁷² In other words, Pere did not perceive Joan's household as a separate political entity; rather, he saw it as a junior form of the king's own household. In one letter, Pere asserted that "because we have striven to preserve [the Jews] in our kingdoms and lands during times of war and

69 Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, p. 122.

70 See footnote 6 for examples of scholarship that reflect this assumption.

71 See Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), p. 337.

72 Ryan, *A Kingdom of Stargazer*, pp. 7-8.

tribulations, the Duke can and should preserve them in times of peace.”⁷³ Pere indicates that Joan’s household was an appendage intended to support the king’s policies, even those concerning the Crown’s Jews.

Joan’s concept of royal households appears to have been dependent on the king’s goals. Joan was willing to align his household ideologically with the king’s as long as Pere recognized and respected the authority of Joan and his officials in the governance of the kingdom. Since Pere was unwilling to do so, Joan defined and legitimized his authority as prince and that of his officials through his household. Joan and his officials thus saw the prince’s household not as an auxiliary part of the king’s household, but as a separate political body that represented the appropriate form of kingship: first among equals. The difference between views held by Joan and Pere compels a reassessment of the relationship between royal households. Those headed by secondary members of the royal family did not necessarily define themselves as an accessory of the king’s household and its political aspirations. These households could increase their association with or distance from the king to fit their particular political interests, reflecting the adaptability of such relationships.

My analysis of the letters exchanged by Pere and Joan in 1377 and 1378 demonstrates that the power structures within the royal households of the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon were both intricate and inconstant. The accusation of attempted host desecration against eight Jews in Huesca offered a timely opportunity for Joan, Pere, and their households to test the limits of the king’s authority, making it a convenient case study for historians. In contrast to the image presented in Pere’s *Ordenacions*, the letters reveal a political fluidity that left room for an array of people, including the prince and his household, to participate in the ongoing discourse about the nature and limitations of royal power that would continue to evolve over the coming centuries.

73 “[...] sabes bien que siempre hauemos tenido practica de conseruar las aljamas e [...] que bien podeades considerar que nos qui en tiempos guerras et de tribulaciones que hauemos houidas e n nuestros Regnos et tierras los hauemos conseruados bien los puede et los deue conseruar el Duch en tiempo de paç et de benenança.” ACA, CR, R. 1262, fol. 10v (January 26, 1378).

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Love, Calumnies, Murders, War, Ambition, and Survival at the Court of King Fernando and Queen Leonor Teles of Portugal (1367-1384)

Isabel de Pina Baleiras

Presentation of King Fernando and Queen Leonor Teles: Reign and Regency

The monarchy needs members of the clergy and nobility to make wars, to populate the realm, to administer territories, and to help rule the country. The nobility and clergy need the monarchy to survive and to maintain their social and economic status. However simple and obvious this may seem, it does not exhaust the discussion on the relationship between the crown and these two social groups, that in fact represent one only class: nobility. All of them, kings and queens included, look for stability, power, wealth, and social prestige, and for those purposes they propose strategies such as marriage alliances, war and peace alliances, donations and privileges, promises of loyalty, treasons, murders, and conspiracies.

All of these tactics and strategies were present in the government and respective entourage of Portuguese King Fernando (b. 1345, r. 1367-83) and Queen Leonor Teles (c.1350-c.1410) from 1367 to 1384. In the context of the three wars against Castile (1369-71, 1372-73, 1381-82), Fernando made an alliance of war with the kingdom of Aragon and promised to marry Leonor, the king's daughter, but he soon cancelled this treaty as the first war with Castile ended. To consolidate the peace alliance, he promised to marry Leonor, the daughter of the King of Castile, Enrique II (b. 1333, r. 1369-79). Later, Fernando again refused this marriage, because in the meantime he had decided to marry a Portuguese noblewoman, Leonor Teles, who was already married and a mother. Both the common people and the nobles disapproved of the conduct of the king, as they thought that a princess would be much more suitable to be their queen.¹ Besides, Leonor Teles belonged to an important noble family that competed with other noble families, who feared that Leonor would favor her family and relatives instead of them, and she soon got enemies. In fact, the chronicler Fernão Lopes (1380-1460) pointed out that Leonor was very charitable with people, and generous with her family and other relatives, creating a true

1 Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ed. Giuliano Macchi (Lisbon, 1975), chs. 28, 53, 57, 60.

network around her, but everything was false as she was a “*lavrador de Venus*” (“farmer of Venus”). To Lopes, she used her seduction and beauty to strengthen her position, and women learned from her new manners how to deal with their husbands.² The nobles and clerics favored by Leonor belonged to the household of the king, and many servants and officials who worked for the king also attended the queen’s household. In fact, Fernando and Leonor worked together in many matters, both external diplomacy and the succession of the kingdom. They produced together, or with their only daughter and heir Beatriz, very important donations to the most important magnates. They were generous to their households and their court was known for being a place of joy, hunts, music, and dance.

Fernando tried to strengthen the power of the crown by reducing the privileges of the magnates, but this centralization was probably destabilized by Leonor’s policy of creating a network that would reinforce her own position and future as regent. Yet Fernando also offered many exceptions to nobles who were against this royal proposal. For instance, the noble Fernando Afonso de Albuquerque, Mestre de Santiago, received the right to be exempt from royal justice in the lands of his Religious Order, contrary to what the king had stipulated to all the nobility in the law of 1375.³ In fact, Fernando lived through a very controversial period, when Portugal was integrated into the Hundred Years’ War between France and England, whose conflict extended to Castile and Portugal. Fernando could not turn his back on this conflict as his father and grandfather had done. The assassination of Pedro I of Castile in 1369 by his half-brother, Enrique of Trastámara (later Enrique II), provoked an intense volte-face in external Portuguese diplomacy. The support Fernando received from Castilians to challenge Enrique II’s authority made him think that the war would be an easy and swift enterprise. But he needed the support of nobles and the religious military orders, and therefore he was not able to enact legislation reducing the power of magnates. However, Fernando did not have the support he would have liked to have had while fighting Castile. His main vassals refused to attack the enemy, and the Portuguese navy failed twice because the admirals (Lançarote Pessanha and later, João Afonso Telo, the brother of the queen) did not defend the Portuguese interests.⁴ The military alliances that Fernando made with England

2 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 65; Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, 2 vols., introduction by Humberto Baquero Moreno, preface by António Sérgio (Porto, n. d.), vol. 1, ch. 15.

3 Lisbon, Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (IANTT), Ordem de Santiago, D.R., m.1, n. 29; *Ordenações Afonsinas*, eds Mário Júlio Brito de Almeida Costa and Eduardo Borges Nunes, 2nd ed., 5 vols (Lisbon, 1998), vol. 2, tit. 63. The edition of *Ordenações Afonsinas* (1792; fasc. ed., 1998), vol. 2, tit. 63.

4 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs 74, 125.

to defeat Castile failed in their objectives: the king lost the three wars, the kingdom suffered from poverty, hunger, destruction, and death. The behavior of the English soldiers did not help as they took wages by ravaging the Portuguese people instead of attacking the enemy.⁵ However, commercial relations with the north Atlantic were stimulated.

Leonor, as consort, always felt that her power was compromised. According to the chronicler, she was accused of being adulterous, not only because of her first marriage, but mostly because during and after her marriage to Fernando she had a love affair with the Galician diplomat, Juan Fernández de Andeiro. He supported Pedro I of Castile, and after Pedro's murder, he gave his support to the candidates for the Castilian throne of King Fernando, and later John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster. He practically lived for a decade at John of Gaunt's court and, in 1380, he was the English ambassador in the negotiations with Portugal to end the third war against Castile. It is during this period that Leonor may have begun her liaison with him, if it happened.⁶ The climate of conspiracy against her and Juan Fernández de Andeiro made the queen devise her own strategies to protect herself. By that time, Fernando was often ill, perhaps because of poisoning, and Leonor feared for her status as queen in the future. Fernão Lopes argued that to eliminate her enemies or to reduce their power, she tried to buy loyalty by distributing titles and lands, and conspired against her sister Maria Teles (who had recently married João de Portugal, brother of the king), indirectly provoking her homicide. She also tried to expel Fernando's brothers to Castile because they were potential heirs to the crown, and tried to kill Mestre de Avis, the only one of the king's brothers who remained in the kingdom.⁷

After the death of the king, Leonor assumed the regency of the reign in name of her daughter Beatriz, recently married to King Juan I of Castile (b.1358, r.1379-90) as it had been established in the treaties. But she soon faced internal opposition. Some nobles and bourgeoisie conspired against her government, and they especially feared the influence of Juan Fernández de Andeiro. They ordered his murder in 1383, and Leonor became insecure as her power was contested. Andeiro's felony was against the abovementioned bastard brother of King Fernando, João, Mestre de Avis. He was supported by the citizens Álvaro Pais (a former chancellor of King Fernando), João Afonso Telo (the brother of the queen), and Nuno Álvares Pereira (a young noble whom Leonor

5 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 132.

6 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 115.

7 King Fernando and his four half-brothers were sons of King Pedro I of Portugal. João, Dinis and Beatriz de Portugal were children of Castilian noble Inês de Castro; João, Mestre de Avis (later King João I) was the son of Teresa Lourenço. Fernando was the son of the Castilian noble Constanza Manuel, who married Pedro and died before her husband became king.

had created in her own household). All of them were generously favored by Fernando and Leonor, but they turned their back on their regent and supported a new one – the Mestre de Avis.

The war between the partisans of the Mestre de Avis and those of the king of Castile began in 1384 and extended to the following years until the definitive peace in 1431. In the beginning, Leonor supported Juan I of Castile and gave him some jewelry belonging to king Fernando, but soon they became enemies.⁸ Juan I suspected that she was conspiring against him, and she was accused by two Jews and her female chambermaid (all old dependents of the queen and King Fernando). Leonor accused them of being unfair and false, but Juan I sent her to Castile to live at the Monastery of Saint Clara in Tordesillas, a place often used to receive noble widows and daughters.⁹ The queen lived at Tordesillas until the death of her son-in-law, in 1390. She then went to Valladolid where she probably had a liaison with the Castilian noble Don Zoilo Iñiguez, with whom she may have had a child, Maria. She seems to have approached her daughter Beatriz and frequented her court; after her death (she may have died in Valladolid), she left a will and some lands where she wished that a monastery should be built in order to provide lodgings for her daughter Maria.¹⁰

This chapter will first examine the composition and dimensions of the nobility and the clergy that encircled the crown of Fernando and Leonor Teles. Thereafter, it will turn to consider some episodes from the Fernão Lopes chronicle where this royal entourage, including the king and the queen, worked to attain their objectives of power and promotion.

The Entourage of the King and Queen

Fernando and Leonor Teles worked together. With her, he made forty-three donations to the magnates of the kingdom, fifteen of those with the participation of their daughter Beatriz.¹¹ At the beginning of the Portuguese monarchy (1143) until the time of King Dinis of Portugal, the great-grandfather of Fernando (1297-1325), it was common for queens consort and the children of the king to act together and sign the kings' diplomas.¹² However, after this king

8 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 1, chs. 65-66.

9 On the voyage, Leonor Teles wrote to two mayors asking for help, but her letters did not arrive in time. Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 1, chs. 83-84.

10 Antolínez de Burgos, "Juan Antolínez de Burgos y la primera Historia de Valladolid," in *Historia de Valladolid* (1887; facs. ed., Valladolid, 1987), p. 287; Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1668), Part I, Book II, Libro 10, ch. 48, p. 401v.

11 Isabel de Pina Baleiras, *Uma rainha inesperada, Leonor Teles* (Lisbon, 2012), p. 188.

12 Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *As rainhas de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1879), vol. 1, p. 5. For example, "carta per que he coutada a uila [vila] de maffara com todos seus termos e

and for the next fifteen years, the procedure was interrupted. Kings began to work mostly without the presence of their consorts and relatives, which reinforced their royal power. It was only with King Fernando that the queen consort again signed papers with the king. Fernando argued that Leonor Teles had the right to sign documents because she “had part of the kingdom’s regiment, and the State that has been given to me by my God,” as was written in a law of 1375 that restrained the power of all nobility and clergy, except for the queen.¹³ This diploma essentially sought to regulate and restrict the justice of the landlords, but Leonor Teles could exercise it in her territories in as free and full a form as the king had given her at the time of their marriage.¹⁴ This position, and Fernando’s statement about sharing the regiment of the kingdom with Leonor, explains a lot of her political participation in royal government. Their advisers and entourage needed to know that her actions were lawful, and that they had to please the king and the queen as well if they wanted to survive or be promoted.

Most of the king’s diplomas given to the nobility refer to privileges, donations, the confirmation of benefits given in the past, and legitimization of bastard births. In a small sample of 145 documents of King Fernando, studied by the paleographer João António Mendes Neves, he remarked that in the king’s government, mercy was the type with the highest percentage in comparison with other type of documents (Figure 10.1).

Research into the records of King Fernando’s chancery could confirm the extension of the king’s mercy, the nature of his entourage, and the political power of Queen Leonor Teles based on a survey of the persons close to her that had benefited from the king’s favor.¹⁵ Among the sixty-four nobles favored by

deuasões [devisões] e marcos,” Lisbon, IANTT, Chancelaria do Rei D. Dinis, book 3, fols. 29v-30r); and “doaçom da vila de Torres Nouas Aa Reya D. Isabel,” Lisbon, IANTT, Chancelaria do Rei D. Dinis, book 3, fols. 33r-33v.

13 *Ordenações Afonsinas*, vol. 2, tit. 63, item 15, p. 404.

14 On 5 January 1372, in her “arras” letter, King Fernando gave Leonor Teles full power in her territories, including justice rights over matters such as the death penalty. Besides that, her power had surpassed the traditional sphere of consorts: she signed, together with the king, several donations to the most important nobles of their court; participated in the marriages treaties for their daughter Beatriz, where the succession of the kingdom was regulated; and conspired to consolidate her power, assuming the regency of the reign after Fernando’s death, as will be shown later. For more information, see Isabel de Pina Baleiras, “The Political Role of a Portuguese Queen in the Late Fourteenth Century,” in ed. Elena Woodacre, *Queenship in the Mediterranean, Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 97-123.

15 Isabel de Pina Baleiras, “Leonor Teles, uma mulher de poder?” MA thesis, 2 vols (Lisbon, 2008), vol. 1, pp. 59-68; vol. 2, pp. 1-107.

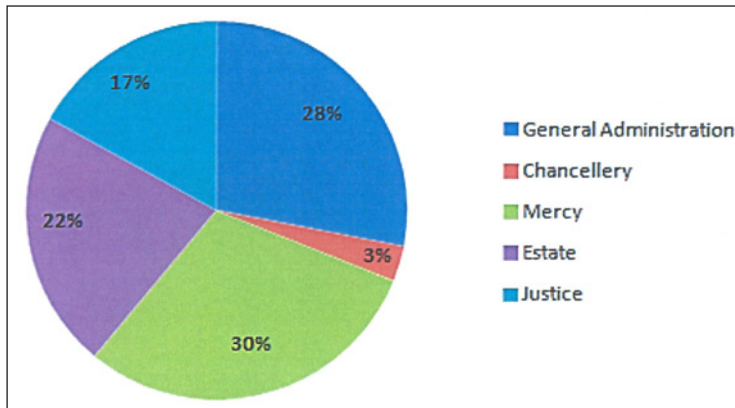


FIGURE 10.1 *Distribution of 145 documents issued by King Fernando, by sectors of governance. Table adapted from João António Mendes Neves, "A Formosa Chancelaria": Estudo dos originais da Chancelaria de D. Fernando (1367-1383)," MA thesis (Coimbra, 2005), p. 66.*

Fernando, nine were foreigners (5.76%): Álvaro Mendes de Cáceres, Fernando Afonso de Samora, Fernando Rodriguez de Andeiro, Henrique Manuel de Villena, João Rodriguez Portocarrero, Juan Fernández de Andeiro, Lopo Gomes de Lira, Mem Rodrigues de Seabra, and João Afonso Pimentel.¹⁶ Of twenty nobles granted favors by King Fernando together with the queen, four (20%) were the same foreigners that the king had already favored: Fernando Afonso de Samora, Henrique Manuel de Villena, Juan Fernández de Andeiro, and Mem Rodrigues de Seabra.¹⁷ Among the thirteen nobles honored by the king, the queen, and their daughter and heir Beatriz, two (15.38%) were foreigners, Lopo Gomes de Lira and Fernam Peres Churrachao.¹⁸ Many of these vassals were Castilians; fifty of them appear in the records for 1369-1373; among the donations registered in King Fernando's chancery, he gave twenty-seven donations to seventeen Castilian vassals.¹⁹ These men came to Portugal after the assassination of Pedro I of Castile in 1369, an act committed by his bastard brother Enrique de Trastámara, who would rule as Enrique II. The vassals of Pedro I did not accept this new king and they invited Fernando of Portugal to become

16 Baleiras, "Leonor Teles," vol. 2, pp. 27-29, 32-34, 40-41, 59-62, 69-70, 73, 76.

17 Baleiras, "Leonor Teles," vol. 2, pp. 28, 33-34, 59-62, 69-70, 76.

18 Baleiras, "Leonor Teles," vol. 2, pp. 32, 69.

19 Covadonga Valdaliso, "El exilio político de los petristas en Portugal (1369-1373)," *Erasmus: Revista de Historia Bajo Medieval y Moderna* 1 (2014), <http://www5.uva.es/revistaerasmo/?page_id=1025>, p. 161.

their monarch, as he had very close ties and the legitimate blood connections with Castilian royal family (Fernando's paternal great-grandfather was King Sancho IV of Castile and his maternal great-great-grandfather was King Fernando III of Castile. Enrique II descended from King Sancho IV of Castile but through a bastard line; his father King Alfonso XI of Castile never married his mother, Leonor de Guzman).

Fernando accepted the invitation. This action was the start the three wars between Portugal and Castile during Fernando's reign, and it explains the presence of so many foreigners in the entourage of the king of Portugal. Besides Castilians, there were also Galician, Aragonese and English nobles. The war produced several military alliances with Aragon and England, and peace treaties with Castile, and these nobles came and went with their connections. Together they added up to hundreds of foreigners, as Covadonga Valdaliso remarked recently.²⁰ The Treaty of Santarém negotiated the peace in the second war, and obliged Fernando to expel all the Castilians that had taken refuge in Portugal during the hostilities. The Castilian chronicler Lopez de Ayala said that they numbered about 500, but Fernão Lopes mentioned only twenty-eight, probably because he was only naming the principal nobles.

The chronicler Fernão Lopes tells us that Leonor Teles made every effort to strengthen her party by giving benefits, such as titles, lands, rents, and others seigniorial rights, to her family and friends, because she felt she was not loved by them.²¹ As was pointed out above, they actually disapproved of her marriage to the king because when they began their relationship, she was already married to a king's vassal, João Lourenço da Cunha, with whom she had had two children (one died young). According to Fernão Lopes, King Fernando fell in love with Leonor Teles while she was visiting her sister, Maria Teles, who was living at his court. Despite Leonor's royal ancestors,²² the nobles and common people advised King Fernando that he should instead marry a daughter of a king, because that would bring the appropriate prestige and wealth to him and to the kingdom.²³ In spite of that, Fernando insisted in his purpose, and asked the Pope for the annulment of Leonor Teles's first marriage, alleging that she and João Lourenço da Cunha were relatives and had not previously asked the

20 Valdaliso, "El Exilio Político," p. 162.

21 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 65, p. 229.

22 Leonor Teles belonged to an important noble family, the Teles de Meneses, who were descended from the Castilian and Portuguese crowns. Among her ancestors were Fruela II, King of León and Galicia, and Teresa Sanches, the illegitimate daughter of King Sancho I of Portugal. António Caetano de Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 15 vols (Lisbon, 2007), vol. 1, p. 259.

23 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 60, p. 210; Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 1, ch. 184, p. 396.

pope's permission to get married. Then, he married Leonor Teles in a private ceremony in December 1371, with very few people present to assist.

The common people criticized this love affair and asked for permission to talk with King Fernando. They sent the message that he was a good king and they did not want to lose him because of a bad wife that had enchanted him; they even offered their services to help expel Leonor Teles if he was not able to do so himself. King Fernando, in response, sent the promise that he would meet them the next day, but, during the same night, he left Lisbon, and went to the north of the country with Leonor Teles. Five months later, in May 1372, King Fernando and Leonor Teles arrived at Leça do Bailio, a small village near Oporto, where they got married in a "public form." The most important nobles and clerics were there to celebrate and to kiss the hand to the new queen of Portugal. Everybody accepted the marriage, except for Dinis de Portugal, King Fernando's brother.²⁴

Later, Fernão Lopes stated that Leonor Teles made efforts to take revenge on those who disliked her: the common men who had called her a witch and had pressed King Fernando to expel her were put in prison or killed; the nobles, like the siblings of the king – Beatriz, João and Dinis – died in Castile because she considered them rivals to her ambition.²⁵

Records in King Fernando's chancery show that the family and the relatives of Queen Leonor Teles received less than 10% of all of the privilege diplomas issued by the king. Of 1691 diplomas issued during the reign (not counting the documents produced exclusively by the queen), only 150 (8.87%) went to the friends and members of her extended family, and only 99 of the total 1691 (5.58%) were granted to the queen's brothers, uncles, cousins, her great-grandfather, brothers-in-law, and her nephew.²⁶ In spite of these low percentages, we should not ignore the fact that within the close circle of the queen were the most important magnates such as the Telos,²⁷ the Castro,²⁸

24 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs. 57, 60-62.

25 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs 61, 71, 105-106.

26 Neves, "A 'Formosa Chancelaria,'" p. 48; Baleiras, "Leonor Teles," vol. 1, p. 66, n. 193.

27 For example: IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fols. 14v, 15v, 28r-28v, 33r-33v, 50v-52r, 56r-56v, 76r-76v, 88r-89v (João Afonso Telo, count of Ourém and Barcelos and uncle of the queen); book 1, fols. 51r-51v, 114r, 172v, 192r, book 2, fols. 99v-100r, 103v-104r, 105r (João Afonso Telo, count of Barcelos and brother of the queen); book 1, 82v, 192r, 200v (João Afonso Telo, count of Viana, cousin of the queen); and book 1, fols. 82r, 84r, 113v, 114r, 115v, 143v, 170v-171r (Gonçalo Teles, count of Neiva and Faria, brother of the queen).

28 For example: IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fols. 121r, 133r, 171r-172v, 177r-177v, book 2, fols. 64v-65r (Álvaro Peres de Castro, count of Arraiolos, relative of the queen and of the king); and book 2, fols. 13r-13v (Pedro de Castro, son of Álvaro Peres de Castro).

the Vasconcelos,²⁹ and the Azevedo³⁰ families, as well as the prestigious monasteries, such as those belonging to the Order of the Hospitallers³¹ and the Order of Santiago (Santos).³² Although a minority, these persons and institutions, with others closer to the king, not only were the wealthiest people or institutions in the realm, but also they were the ones responsible for conducting the administration of the kingdom.

Fernão Lopes also stated that King Fernando and Queen Leonor Teles arranged many marriages in order to increase their power, especially Leonor (see Table 10.1). The Cortes of Oporto and Leiria in 1372, the national assembly convoked by the king where the clergy, nobility, and common people were represented by their major delegates, confirmed this marital policy, and made it clear, however, that some widows and the orphaned daughters of merchants were forced to marry against their will.³³ Lopes, in his chronicle of King Fernando, notes ten marriages directly organized by the queen. Many of the brides belonged to Leonor's house, including not only family members, such as her sister Joana Teles, but also maidens from the middling ranks of the nobility, such as Inês Dias Afonso and Beatriz Nunes.

There was considerable overlap between the two royal households. The people who made up the household of the queen were also often members of the king's household. Damsels and ladies were often the daughters, wives, widows, and nieces of Fernando's vassals. The queen's sister, Maria Teles, the widow of the king's vassal, Álvaro Dias de Sousa, later married João de Portugal, the king's brother. Inês Afonso, who also belonged to Leonor's house, was the wife of Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, a cousin of the queen and a vassal of Fernando. Even the officers who worked for Leonor's chancery also worked in the king's chancery. That was the case with the scribes Domingos Fernandes, Afonso

29 For example: IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fols. 3r-8v (Gonçalo Fernandes and Leonor Rodrigues de Vasconcelos, aunt of the queen; book 2, 38v-39r (Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcelos, probably great-grandfather of the queen); and book 2, 88r-89r (João Mendes de Vasconcelos).

30 For example: IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fols. 117r, 125v-126r, 168v-169r, 178r-179r, 200v, book 2, fols. 81v-82r, 98r, book 3, fol. 41r (Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, relative of the queen).

31 For example: IANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, book 1, fols. 104v, 159r-159v, 160r, book 2, fols. 104v-105r.

32 For example: IANTT, *Mosteiro de Santos-o-Novo*, m.1, n. 2; m. 6, n. 94, 101; Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP, National Portuguese Library), CO, cx. 20, "Mosteiros não identificados" (unidentified monasteries).

33 *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Fernando (1367-1383)*, A.H. de Oliveira Marques and João Paulo Salvado (eds), 2 vols (Lisbon, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 93, 130.

TABLE 10.1 *Marriages arranged by Queen Leonor Teles, according to Fernão Lopes*

Marriages	Wedding presents
Joana Teles & João Afonso Pimentel	Bragança ^a
Inês Dias Afonso & Pedro Rodrigues da Fonseca	Castle of Olivença
Martim Gonçalves de Ataíde & Mécia Vasques Coutinho	Castle of Chaves ^b
Fernão Gonçalves de Sousa ^c & Dona Teresa de Meira ^d	Castle of Portel; from the king, the rights of Borba and Redondo; the donation of Aboim's village and Castro d'Aire's village; the loan of Alcacenas's rights; the donation and privileges of "Talega;" Serpa's Castle. The king gave Teresa the hereditary donation of a farm in Odivelas, in the boundary of Portel.
Gonçalo Viegas de Ataíde & Beatriz Nunes	No further information on this marriage
Fernão Gonçalves de Meira ^e & Branca Lourenço (daughter of the bishop of Braga)	lands in Ponte de Lima
Pais Rodrigues Marinho ^f & Leonor Rodrigues (previously married to the vassal, João Fernandes Cogominho) ^g	1376: Castle of Serpa (from the king); 1382: Ougela and its boundaries (from the king, queen, and their daughter Beatriz).
Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo & Inês Afonso	No further information on this marriage
Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho & the daughter of Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo	No further information on this marriage
Álvaro Gonçalves [de Azevedo] & Sancha de Andeiro (daughter of Juan Fernández de Andeiro)	No further information on this marriage

a IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 3, fol. 90r.

b Martim Gonçalves de Ataíde also received the goods of the Jew Abraffam Rico. IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 3, fol. 66v; and book 2, fol. 109v.

c IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fols. 132v, 149v, 166r; and book 2, fols. 19v, 20r, 78r.

d IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fols. 104r-104v.

e IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fol. 191r. It is not known whether Fernão Gonçalves de Meira received these lands as a wedding present.

f IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fol. 193r; book 2, fols. 108v-109r. It is not known whether Pais Rodrigues Marinho received these lands because of his marriage.

g Rita Costa Gomes, *A Corte dos reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média* (Carnaxide, 1995), p. 50.

Peres, João Martins, or the case with the ombudspersons Afonso Martins, Gil Eanes, João Afonso.³⁴ Some of them, for example Gil Eanes and the cleric Fernando Fernandes, received privileges from the king and later from Leonor during her regency.³⁵ Others of Leonor Teles' servants were beneficiaries of Fernando's mercy, such as the huntsman Pedro Afonso, who received some houses in Santarém, or the attendant Alçom Eanes who received the goods of a traitor.³⁶ There was continuity and collaboration among the houses and chancelleries of the king and queen; and the same occurred in the household of their daughter, Princess Beatriz, when she was born. Many ladies that constituted the house of Leonor Teles began to serve the *infant* (princess) under the control of the queen. Some examples were the wet-nurse Constança Martins Botelho, and other ladies in waiting such as Urraca Eanes, Violante Afonso, widow of the king's vassal named Diogo Gomes de Abreu, Teresa de Meira and Iria Gonçalves do Carvalhal.³⁷ Between the households of Fernando, Leonor and Beatriz, the same entourage circulated, although political divisions might have occurred. Nevertheless, these three households were not rivals, as was the case with the king and the houses of some nobles.

Strategies of Power Reported by Fernão Lopes

As noted above, when Fernando and Leonor married in 1372, the king's brother, Dinis de Portugal (son of King Pedro and the Castilian noble Inês de Castro) refused to kiss Leonor's hand, as he considered that she was not the best woman to marry his brother, the king. Fernando was very upset and almost beat him.³⁸ The roots of this animosity ran deeply throughout the ranks of the nobility and it affected the political relations of both Portugal and Castile. In fact, the noble families of Castro and Teles had for a long time disputed for the right to be close to the throne. During the reign of Fernando's father King Pedro (b.1320, r.1357-67), the Castro family received some benefits, perhaps partly because Pedro, before he ascended to the throne, fell in love with Inês de Castro, a lady in his wife's entourage. However, the Teles family was also favored, particularly Leonor Teles' uncle, João Afonso Telo, the main adviser of King Pedro who profited handsomely from his association with the king. He became count of Barcelos, the most honored title in the kingdom at the

34 Neves, "A Formosa Chancelaria," pp.110-111.

35 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fols. 42v-43r, 84r, 111r.

36 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fol. 44v; book 1, fol. 141v.

37 César Olivera Serrano, *Beatriz de Portugal, la pugna dinástica Avis-Trastámara* (Santiago de Compostela, 2005), pp. 220-21.

38 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 62.

time, and received from the *infants* Dinis and Beatriz of Portugal ten generous privileges and two letters granting power to represent them in their marriage negotiations in Castile.³⁹

During Fernando's reign, Castro and Teles continued to receive ample privileges. João, Dinis and Beatriz de Portugal were very close to Fernando before his marriage, and João continued to be so until 1380.⁴⁰ According to Fernão Lopes, the king lived in an incestuous relation with his sister Beatriz (who received from Fernando several donations), and João and Dinis fought with him in the first war against Castile.⁴¹ One of Inês de Castro's uncles, Álvaro Peres de Castro, received six donations (two of them given by the king and the queen), and his son, Pedro de Castro, received another important one.⁴² The latter had married Leonor de Meneses, a cousin of Leonor Teles, which proves that rivalry between the Castro and Teles families sometimes ended in alliances like marriages in order to control their enmities and to strengthen their ambition to climb higher in the royal entourage.⁴³

It therefore makes sense that kissing the new queen's hand publicly would have appeared to have been very humiliating to Dinis, and so, after the wedding ceremony, and with the understanding that he had gained the animosity of the royal couple, Dinis decided to leave the country and go to Castile to serve King Fernando's enemy, King Enrique II. Diogo Lopes Pacheco, a noble who had served Fernando and his father, King Pedro, was already with the Castilians and helped Dinis integrate himself into the circle of Enrique II. According to Diogo Lopes Pacheco, "king [Fernando] is completely under the power of her [Leonor Teles]; she enchanted him, as he was only doing what she wanted" ("el-rrei era de todo ponto em poder d'ella, e que o trazia enfeitizado, pois que nom fazia mais que ella quiria").⁴⁴ Later, Beatriz de Portugal, Fernando's sister, also left Portugal to live in Castile. Her marriage to Sancho de Albuquerque, a brother of Enrique II of Castile, had been agreed in 1373, during the peace

39 Centro de Estudos Históricos da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. Pedro I* (Lisbon, 1984), docs. 167, 243, 367, 423, 574, 792, 651, 724, 767, 891, 1005, 1006. Cristina Pimenta, *D. Pedro I* (Rio de Mouro, 2005), p. 120.

40 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs. 36, 105-06,

41 For example, the donations of Candelo's Farm, Canal's Farm, Gestaço's Farm, and other places in Estremoz and Montemor-o-Novo, IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fols. 3v-5r; Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 57, p. 198.

42 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fols. 121r, 133r, 171r-172 v, 177r-177v; book 2, fols. 64 v-65r, 13r-v.

43 Baleiras, *Uma rainha inesperada*, pp. 107-108, 456.

44 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 66.

negotiations of the Treaty of Santarém, the alliance that put an end to the second war with Castile.⁴⁵

At some point around 1377-78, Fernando was poisoned, which made him ill but failed to kill him, which may have been the intention. This act was ignored by Fernão Lopes, but it is noted in the king's will of 28 August 1378. In this document, the king accused his brother Dinis, his sister Beatriz, the noble Diogo Lopes Pacheco (all the three were living in Castile at the time) and King Enrique II of Castile. Consequently, Fernando clearly refused any right that Dinis and Beatriz had to succession to the Portuguese throne. Although he does not mention his name, the king also rejected any succession rights belonging to his other brother, João de Portugal, maintaining that his only heir was his daughter, Beatriz.⁴⁶ Later, Fernando confiscated his three brothers' chattels and delivered them to other vassals (Table 10.2).

King Fernando's brothers, Dinis and João de Portugal, fought against Castile in the first war (1369-1371), but in the second war (1372-1373), due to the incidents described above, Dinis was already serving Fernando's enemy, Enrique II, fighting with him against the kingdom of Portugal. The other brother João attacked Portugal in the third war (1381-82), with the support of the king Juan I.⁴⁷

Indeed, since 1380 João de Portugal had also been living in Castile, serving king Juan I, because of a misunderstanding with Fernando and Leonor Teles. The main point of contention was his secret marriage to the queen's sister, Maria Teles, and his murder of her. Since 1379, the king had been ill – perhaps as a result of being poisoned – and people suspected that he would not live long. This fact made João de Portugal consider the possibility of becoming his brother Fernando's successor, if he were to marry his daughter Beatriz.⁴⁸ According to Fernão Lopes, the motive for the assassination – a rumor that Maria Teles had been adulterous – was thought up by the queen in order to seduce João de Portugal to do something that would have him sent out of the kingdom. Lopes argues that this would thus liberate her from a possible rival to the throne, who might compromise her status and honor after the death of her husband.⁴⁹

45 Pero Lopez de Ayala, "Crónica del Rey Don Enrique, Segundo de Castilla é de Leon," in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, Desde don Alfonso el Sábio, hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, Cayetano Rosell, ed., 2 vols (Madrid, 1953), vol. 2, ch. 6, p. 17.

46 "Testamento de D. Fernando," in Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora, cod. CIX/2-2, N° 9, ed. Salvador Dias Arnaut, *A Crise Nacional dos Fins do século XIV, I, A sucessão de D. Fernando* (Coimbra, 1960), doc. 7, pp. 291-295; Rita Costa Gomes, *D. Fernando* (Rio de Mouro, 2005), pp. 122, 164-165.

47 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs. 120, 131.

48 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs. 100, 101, 103, 105.

49 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs. 101, 104.

TABLE 10.2 *King Fernando's confiscation of the Castro brothers' goods*

Two donations to Vasco Peres de Camões: the farm of "Gestaço" (on 15 April 1378) and the homestead and the movable property in Montemor-o-Novo (on 18 February 1379); these goods had belonged to the king's sister, Beatriz de Portugal.^a

Donation of the farm of Dinis de Portugal, called Santo André, to Diogo Afonso de Figueiredo (on 8 December 1379).^b

Donation of the farm of Candelo which had belonged to the king's sister, Beatriz de Portugal, to Afonso Gomes da Silva (on 24 September 1381).^c

Donation of Figueiredo to Juan Fernández de Andeiro; this land had belonged to João de Portugal, brother of the king (on 3 October 1381).^d

Donation of the Furada's farm that had belonged to the king's sister, Beatriz de Portugal, to Vasco Gomes de Abreu (on 19 January 1382).^e

The queen's brother, João Afonso Telo, received from the king the jurisdiction of certain places in Refóios and Aguiar de Sousa (on 26 June 1383); these rights had once belonged to João de Portugal, brother of the king, and later to his sister, Beatriz de Portugal.^f

a IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fols. 27r, 39v.

b IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fols. 50r-v.

c IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 1, fol. 89r. César Olivera Serrano indicated that she died in 1382. Olivera Serrano, *Beatriz de Portugal*, p. 293.

d IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fols. 87r-v.

e IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fol. 91r.

f IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fols. 103v-104r.

Another example of conspiracy and ambition had occurred with João, Mestre de Avis, another bastard brother of King Fernando, and Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, one of the queen's cousins. According to Fernão Lopes, they were put in prison because Leonor suspected that Azevedo had accused her of having an affair with Andeiro. She also wanted to be free of Mestre de Avis, as he was the only brother of King Fernando that was still living in Portugal who might revenge the honor of the king, and so compromise her life and her ambition of ruling the kingdom after Fernando's death. So, Leonor wrote two false charters in name of the king, ordering the two prisoners' death. But the guard of the prison mistrusted this command and asked to talk with the king. Fernando was very upset by the charters, and Leonor quickly decided that it was better to liberate Mestre de Avis and Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo to avoid more bad rumors about her and Andeiro. Before their departure, the queen invited both to lunch in the company of Andeiro. She was very gallant

and kind and asked Andeiro to come close to her so that she could give him a ring. He declined, saying that people would think badly of them, but she insisted, and the others disapproved of this behavior. Later, she also planned a marriage between a son of Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo (Álvaro Gonçalves) and Sancha, a daughter of Andeiro.⁵⁰

Fernão Lopes affirmed that all of these were strategies to dissipate the rumors about the adultery of Leonor and Andeiro, but he also noted that Mestre de Avis had put for sale seventeen heads of cattle from his lands. Leonor Teles had actually told Mestre de Avis that his imprisonment had occurred because the king suspected that he wanted to go to Castile to join his half-brother, the *infant* (prince) João de Portugal, who was living there and preparing to attack the royal rights of Fernando. In fact, according to Luis Suarez Fernández, between 13 July and 8 August 1381, João de Portugal had indeed tried to encircle the frontier village Elvas with the purpose of bringing them to his side.⁵¹

But what is relevant for the moment is that the immediate family of Fernando that had helped him in the governance and in the war during the first years, was now willing to challenge the king. The family's strategy was to gain more power, and to achieve it, the nobles did not hesitate to confront their kingdom and monarch, from whom they received several benefits.⁵² Nevertheless, in 1383 when Beatriz, the only daughter and heir of Fernando and Leonor, married Juan I, king of Castile, the king of Portugal preferred his son-in-law, not his own brothers, to succeed him to the throne, if he or Beatriz would not leave any legitimate descendents at the time of their deaths. This final option was mentioned in the Treaty of Salvaterra de Magos, which established this marriage and the succession of the two thrones. However, Fernando's illness made him fragile. His entourage began to think of the succession of the crown more often, suggesting names and arranging groups of interests, because the legal heir, Princess Beatriz, was not considered to have the potential for being a strong ruler. As a female, her ability to govern was called into question, although there was nothing in Portuguese law to prevent the accession of a woman to the throne. Besides, in 1379 (when Fernando had probably been

50 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs. 141, 143, 146, 150.

51 Pero Lopez de Ayala, "Crónica del Rey Don Juan, Primero de Castilla é de Leon," in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, Desde don Alfonso el Sábio, hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*. 2 vols (Madrid, 1953), vol. 2, 1381, ch. iv; Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch. 146. Luis Suarez Fernández, *Juan I de Trastámara, 1379-1390* (Palencia, 1994), vol. Maior, p. 78; Gomes, *D. Fernando*, pp. 153-54.

52 For instance, Mestre de Avis received Borba for his religious order, with jurisdictional rights, in exchange for Benavente, that reverted to the crown. This contract was made by King Fernando, together with Queen Leonor and the Princess Beatriz. IANTT, Gaveta IV, m. 2, n. 2.

poisoned), Beatriz was six years old and her potential groom, Fradique, a bastard son of Enrique II of Castile, was nine, which means that they were children with few possibilities of guiding the military defense of their rights.

But the change of suzerains and the circulation of nobles in different seigniorial circles were not uncommon in medieval times. As a matter of fact, nobles were serving persons not kingdoms. And if a conflict emerged between vassals and suzerains, the former would abandon the latter and look for better opportunities, often in the enemies' entourage of the previous suzerain. When a vassal went away to serve the enemy, King Fernando first said he had been personally betrayed, and only later did he say that the vassal had also deceived the kingdom. Indeed, the meaning of nation, as we know it nowadays, did not exist.⁵³

That disloyalty and dissembling was also clear in the regency of Queen Leonor. After the death of King Fernando on 22 October 1383, Leonor became the regent of the throne until a son or daughter of Beatriz and Juan I would reach the age of fourteen, a suitable age for assuming the throne. Though Leonor's regency had been settled by King Fernando several times (Fernando's will, 1378; Salvaterra de Magos's Treaty, 1383), her power was contested. As was mentioned above, her principal adviser, Juan Fernández de Andeiro, was the victim of a murder organized by nobles and merchants.⁵⁴ He was a Galician diplomat with many contacts in England and Castile who overshadowed the Portuguese nobility and high bourgeoisies' interests. His presence close to the queen-regent was undesirable. After his death, Leonor's power decreased. She became frightened because she felt unprotected, knowing she was not loved by the people and the higher classes. As was stated above, she was accused of being adulterous with Andeiro, and very close to foreigners' interests. Leonor left Lisbon, where complaints against her increased every day, and she fled to Alenquer, one of her lands, searching for protection. A still-large entourage departed with her to this village: all the damsels and ladies of her house, her two brothers, João and Gonçalo, her uncle, many nobles that had worked with King Fernando, important Jews such as the D. Judas, the treasurer of the king.⁵⁵

53 Baleiras, *Uma rainha inesperada*, pp. 188-89, 323-24. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa studied the Portuguese lineage of the Pimentéis, where he followed the itinerary of the noble João Afonso Pimentel, who was not acting from a feeling of nationalism or even because of some fidelity to another monarch, but simply serving his own lordship interests. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, *Os Pimentéis, Percursos de uma Linhagem da Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa (séculos XIII-XIV)* (Lisbon, 2000), p. 313.

54 Baleiras, *Uma rainha inesperada*, pp. 276-285.

55 "[O] conde D. João Afonso, seu irmão; e o mestre de Santiago, D. Fernando Afonso; e o almirante, mice Lançarote; e Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcelos, tio da Rainha; e Martin Gonçalves de Ataíde; e Pero Lourenço de Távora; e João Afonso Pimentel; e Vasco Peres de

Many of the courtiers who had served King Fernando continued to follow his wife in her regency. That was the case for the cleric Fernando Fernandes, the vassals Gil Eanes, Pedro de Castro and the admiral Mice Lançarote. All of them received from the regent the confirmation of old benefits, such as the tax of “oitavas” given to the Abbot Fernando Fernandes,⁵⁶ or they were presented with new ones, for example, the loan of a farm in Faro given to Mice Lançarote⁵⁷ or the rents in Almeira given to Pedro de Castro.⁵⁸ The policy followed by Fernando was continued in Leonor’s regency. She confirmed the right of the nuns of Santa Clara in Portalegre to build the monastery promised by the king in the center of the town,⁵⁹ and she fulfilled Fernando’s decree to oblige the Bishop of Badajoz to deliver the land of Cogombril and its profits to the Monastery of Santa Cruz.⁶⁰ But Leonor Teles was not afraid of deciding against Fernando’s commands; and that is what she had done, for instance, when she devolved to Alenquer part of its land that King Fernando had taken to give to Vila Nova da Rainha,⁶¹ or when she restored the exemption of a commercial tax to the city of Oporto, which had been abolished by Fernando.⁶²

Camões; e Airas Vasques de Alvalade; e João Gonçalves, anadel-mor; e Lourenço Eanes Fogaça; e todolos do desembargo delRei D. Fernando assim como Álvaro Gonçalves, vedor da fazenda, e Gil Eanes, corregedor, e outros muitos criados da Rainha e del-Rei D. Fernando. E D. Judas, tesoureiro-mor que fora de del Rei D. Fernando e seu vedor da Fazenda [...] Bernaldom e Martim Paulo, gascões [vascões] que ficaram no reino do tempo delRei D. Fernando [...]” (original language adapted to modern Portuguese; “The Count João Afonso, her brother; and the Master of Santiago, Fernando Afonso; and the admiral, mice Lançarote; and Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcelos, uncle of Queen; and Martim Gonçalves de Ataíde; and Pero Lourenço de Távora; and João Afonso Pimentel; and Vasco Peres de Camões; and Airas Vasques Alvalade; and João Gonçalves, captain of archers; and Lourenço Eanes Fogaça; and those pertaining to the Privy Council as well as Álvaro Gonçalves, *intendant* of the kingdom, and Gil Eanes, *corregidor*, and other many servants of the queen and of king Fernando. And Judas, Master of Treasure that served King Rei Fernando and his properties’ *intendant* [...] Bernaldom and Martim Paulo, Vascões who stayed in the kingdom during the time of king Fernando.”) Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 1, ch. 16.

56 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fol. 84r.

57 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fol. 111r.

58 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fol. 112r.

59 IANTT, Ordem dos Frades Menores, Província do Algarve, Santa Clara de Portalegre, M. 1; Neves, “A *Formosa Chancelaria*,” p. 376.

60 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fols. 31r-33r.

61 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, book 2, fol. 111v.

62 AMP, book 4, doc. 61, in “Neves, “A *Formosa Chancelaria*,”” p. 377.

But, three months after Fernando's death, things became worse for Leonor. She continued to feel insecure and so she decided to go to Santarém, one of King Fernando's favorite cities for ruling and hunting. This time, her entourage from Alenquer to Santarém was much more reduced, leaving only her two brothers, the admiral Mice Lançarote, the vassals João Afonso Pimentel and João Gonçalo of Óbidos, and some other knights and lower nobles.⁶³ Meanwhile, she asked for help from her son-in-law, Juan I of Castile, and, on 14 January 1384, Leonor abdicated her regency to him in order to legitimize his future actions. She wished that he would revenge her enemies and the homicide of her main adviser Andeiro, and after that, she would regain her position and rule in peace. Leonor promised Juan I that he would easily have the best cities and castles of Portugal, because these were in the hands of her family and relatives. However, her brother Gonçalo Teles and her cousin Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcelos refused to deliver Coimbra to Juan I, which was a city that they governed jointly. Her nephew, Lopo Dias de Sousa, also refused to receive the King of Castile in Tomar, and he fled to Pombal.⁶⁴ The nobility was divided. As regent, Leonor could not offer the high nobility and the high clergy the donations and privileges which they had become accustomed to receive. Once she had less power, she had to be much more tight-fisted with the benefits, land grants, and privileges given. Consequently, many nobles left her and went to serve Mestre de Avis, who gave them the goods that had belonged to others Leonor's supporters.⁶⁵ Some other nobles went to Castile, and others waited for better days to decide which side would be the best for them to support.⁶⁶ João, Mestre de Avis, was gaining in popularity; he was promoted by Álvaro Pais, a high citizen of Lisbon, and some nobles such as Nuno Álvares Pereira, to take control of the regency and become king of Portugal instead of Beatriz, the legal heir. And he accomplished it: in December 1383, Mestre de Avis was acclaimed Ruler and Defensor of the Kingdom, and in 1385 he was proclaimed king of Portugal at the Cortes de Coimbra.

Conclusion

Fernando and Leonor Teles shared economic and political strategies and both were concerned with strengthening their power in the crown. Fernando

63 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. I, ch. 30.

64 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. I, chs. 61-62, 65.

65 IANTT, Chancelaria de D. João I, book 1, fols. 19r, 54r, 58v, and 70r-70v.

66 Baleiras, *Uma rainha inesperada*, pp. 295, 323-324, 399-401.

pursued his goal of increasing the Portuguese commercial relations with the north of Europe and so it was crucial to have good contacts abroad, especially with England.⁶⁷ Fernando and Leonor made generous donations to the magnates: either the king by himself, both of them together, or both of them with their daughter Beatriz. Some of the recipients were close to the king, others were close to the queen's family or from important religious institutions that both favored, and some other recipients were foreigners. These foreigners helped the king in the international policy that he was negotiating in the context of the three wars against Castile, and the Hundred Years' War. Portuguese nobles, but also Castilians, Galicians, and English were prominent among diplomatic and political networks that encircled Fernando and Leonor's government. These nobles were based in Portugal but they also circulated among the courts of Castile, Aragon, England, and France.

As useful as these nobles and their entourages were in promoting Fernando's policies, they and their shifting allegiances were an important cause of the wars fought by the kings. The assassination of Pedro I of Castile by his brother Enrique de Trastámara divided Castilian nobility. The nobles, who did not accept Enrique as their new king, sought exile and offered their services to King Fernando and later to the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt. Fernando did not differentiate between foreigners and Portuguese when he issued diplomas. To him, they were all vassals,⁶⁸ and so foreigners sought to receive castles and territories like those granted to the Portuguese nobles. This policy was contested in the courts, but the king did not change his position.⁶⁹ For Fernando, their nationalities did not matter. He cared only about their services and loyalty. In her regency, Leonor continued to collaborate with those foreigners close to her, namely Juan Fernández de Andeiro, João Afonso de Baeza, Fernão Afonso de Zamora, and Martinho, the bishop of Lisbon.⁷⁰

The Portuguese nobility and clergy did not appreciate enthusiastically these international influences on royal policy, because they were afraid of losing their own influence and status close to the crown. Therefore, Juan Fernández de Andeiro was killed early in the queen's regency. Portuguese nobles and merchants were also jealous of the role of the Jews in Fernando and Leonor's government because some of them had more prominent places at

67 Peter Russel, *A Intervenção Inglesa na Península Ibérica durante a Guerra dos Cem Anos* (Lisbon, 2000), p. 12.

68 Valdaliso, "El Exilio Político", p. 162.

69 *Cortes Portuguesas, Reinado de D. Fernando (1367-1383)*, vol. 1, p. 51, art. 74.

70 Russell, *A Intervenção Inglesa*, p. 392.

court than the Christians.⁷¹ Ambition made the nobles create political groups that would conspire, if they felt it necessary, against the king and the queen. Leonor, as a woman and with a controversial past having been married and a mother before meeting the king, was a fragile target, very much open to attack. However, Fernão Lopes suggested that Leonor may have brought some of the criticism on herself. He asserts that she had probably intrigued and conspired to sustain her power, with events such as the murders and imprisonment of those common people that criticized her private marriage to Fernando, or the imprisonment of Mestre de Avis, and considered her to be an adulterous, ambitious and unscrupulous manipulator. But Fernão Lopes (1380-1460) – who wrote 60-70 years after the deaths of Leonor and Fernando – is the only source on these matters. Neither Pero Lopez de Ayala (1332-1407), who was contemporary of the queen (1350?-1410?) and worked for Enrique II and Juan I of Castile, nor Froissart (1337-1404), also contemporary, said a word about Leonor's misconduct and adultery. At this point, it is important to add that Fernão Lopes worked for King João I (Mestre de Avis), and his son and heir Duarte. They requested that he wrote the history of King João I and his ancestors. To glorify and legitimize the action of Avis dynasty, born of a coup d'état, it was important to denigrate the last reign, particularly the queen and her role. The portrait of a bad woman who had spoiled a good king was much more convenient, because Fernando was brother of João I.⁷²

Even if this interpretation was appropriate, murders, intrigues, and conspiracy plans were old strategies of power committed by nobles, kings and queens to strengthen their status and ambition, as Nira Pancer remarked in her study of the behavior of Merovingian queens.⁷³ Æthelflæd of Mercia (b. c.870-d. 918) and Queen Gerberga of France (b. c.913-d. 968) controlled their own

71 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ch.117; *Cortes Portuguesas, Reinado de D. Fernando* (1367-1383), vol. 1, "Cortes de 1371 (Lisbon)," arts. 58-59, pp. 42-43.

72 Baleiras, *Uma rainha inesperada*, pp. 376-381, 385-389. For more information on the criticism of the image of Fernando and Leonor Teles which was transmitted through Fernão Lopes, see Teresa Amado, *Fernão Lopes, contador de História, sobre a Crónica de D. João I* (Lisbon, 1991); Manuel Marques Duarte, *Leonor Teles, ensaio biográfico* (Oporto, 2002); Isabel de Barros Dias, "Uso pragmático do 'topos' da rainha má na segunda edição da *Crónica de 1344*," in eds Ana Maria da Costa Toscano and Shelley Godsland, *Mulheres Más: Percepção e Representações da Mulher Transgressora no Mundo Luso-Hispânico*, vol. 1 (Oporto, 2004), pp. 123 a 140; Ana Paula Sousa, "Leonor Teles, 'Huuma Maa Molher?'" Master's thesis (Oporto, 2004); and Maria José Pimenta Ferro, *Fernando e Leonor: um Reinado Mal(Dito)* (Lisbon, 2013).

73 Nira Pancer, *Sans peur et sans vergogne, de l'honneur des femmes aux premiers temps mérovingiens (VI-VII siècles)* (Paris, 2001), ch. 5.

lands, created households to support their power, produced with their husbands several charters concerning the administration of the kingdom and granting privileges to the nobility and religious institutions. They, like Queen Leonor Teles, governed their realms after being widowed, and they did not hesitate in destroying enemies by war and death. Æthelflæd faced the external opposition of Vikings and the Welsh, and declared war against them; Gerberga dealt with the animosity of her network and ordered, for instance, the destruction of Count Reginar III's castle and the imprisonment of his wife, children and soldiers.⁷⁴ There are other examples: in Portugal, the princesses Teresa and Sancha waged war against their brother King Afonso II, because he refused to respect their seigniorial rights and inheritance to their lands.⁷⁵

These maneuvers are the stuff of monarchy. Kings and queens, above the nobles but also often of the same social rank, sometimes used factions to reach their goals. Queen Leonor Teles, according to Lopes, conspired against her sister Maria Teles and called her adulterous; her husband João de Portugal planned to kill her, which no doubt would have prompted King Fernando to arrest, kill, or exile João de Portugal. The queen would also be free of another rival to her ambition. Fernando's poisoning, orchestrated by his siblings Dinis and Beatriz and Enrique II of Castile, represents another example of a conspiracy where kings and nobles might have worked together when they had an enemy in common.

But kings, queens, and nobles needed each other to sustain or even to promote their positions. Kings needed the nobles to make wars, administer the kingdom, and control internal and external opponents. Nobles needed to be close to kings and queens because proximity would give them power and influence. However, their loyalty depended on the circumstances of power that were most convenient for their survival and promotion. This is why the nobility did not understand nationalism in a modern sense. In the alliances of war and peace, it was predictable that vassals could make war against their king if he did not accomplish what he had promised in the treaties. João and Dinis de Portugal went to Castile and fought against their brother, King Fernando, when they disapproved of or feared Fernando's conduct. Diogo Lopes Pacheco was a

74 Megan Welton, "*Domina et Fidelibus Eius*: Elite Households in Tenth-Century Francia and Anglo-Saxon England", chapter one in this volume.

75 Maria Alegria Fernandes, *D. Matilde, D. Teresa, D. Mafalda e D. Sancha, Primeiras Infantas de Portugal (1149?-1256)* (Lisbon, 2011), pp. 48-54; and Maria João Branco, "Elites Eclesiásticas e Construção de uma Identidade: do rei ao reino (sécs. XII e XIII)," in eds José da Silva Horta, Sérgio Campos Matos, *Nação e Identidades: Portugal, os Portugueses e os Outros* (Lisbon, 2009), pp. 135-55, esp. p. 153.

Portuguese vassal of King Pedro of Portugal and later of his son Fernando, but he ran away to Castile, offering his services to the king of Castile, every time he had problems surviving in Portugal.⁷⁶ Loyalty was not connected with lands, but with people. If a landlord or king gave better territories and privileges, nobles would not hesitate to go abroad, even if the new lord was an enemy of the former one. There was no loyalty to the state as it is perceived nowadays, nor a sense of group loyalty; nobles acted individually and only worked together when their interests were threatened.

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76 Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, chs.1, 66.

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The Portuguese Household of an English Queen: Sources, Purposes, Social Meaning (1387-1415)

Manuela Santos Silva

Philippa of Lancaster, queen of Portugal (1387-1415), was the only queen of Portugal of English origin, and she left a very good reputation in the popular collective memory. The success of the family she built with her husband João I of Portugal (1385-1433) can partially explain her good fame. The political consequences of that achievement are also of the utmost importance: through the alliance established with England, Portugal remained independent from Castile, at least for more than a century. Nevertheless, the queen's personality often determined her public profile.¹ Soon after her death, some of her children and even her husband's chroniclers praised her because of her high moral and behavioral qualities, especially as a wife and a mother and a model to other ladies, particularly those closest to her.²

As a queen, her household grew incrementally through the years. The rents assigned to the queen maintained her household and paid the wages of her large group of female companions and household officials. In her time, the group of towns that belonged to the queens' dominion became fixed, and the reform and changes implemented by her in the household administration remained as a framework for the following generations throughout the fifteenth century.³

1 Manuela Santos Silva, "A construção coeva da imagem de Filipa de Lencastre como uma "santa rainha," in eds Ana Luísa Vilela, Elisa Nunes Santos, Fábio Mário da Silva, and Margarida Reffoios, *Representações do mito na História e na Literatura* (Évora, 2014), pp. 137-47.

2 Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1983), vol. 2, pp. 225-26; *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte (livro da Cartuxa)*, diplomatic ed., transcr. João José Alves Dias, intro. A.H. de Oliveira Marques and João José Alves Dias, rev. A.H. de Oliveira Marques and Teresa F. Rodrigues (Lisbon, 1982), pp. 76, 112, 118, 237.

3 Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues and Manuela Santos Silva, "Private Properties, Seignorial Tributes and Jurisdictional Rents: The Income of the Queens of Portugal in the Late Middle Ages," in ed. Theresa Earenfight, *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2010), pp. 209-28; Manuela Santos Silva, "Small Towns Belonging to the Medieval Queens of Portugal Distinctiveness, Taxation, Jurisdiction," in ed. Adelaide Millán da Costa *Petites Villes Européennes au Bas Moyen Âge: perspectives de recherche* (Lisbon, 2013), pp. 125-36.

The Marriage of Philippa of Lancaster and João I of Portugal

João I, king of Portugal, married Philippa of Lancaster in February 1387 as the result of a series of negotiations between Portugal and England, with the aim of establishing a political and military alliance against their common enemy, Castile.⁴ Philippa was the eldest daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, and his wife, Blanche. She was a granddaughter of King Edward III of England (1327-77) and Queen Philippa of Hainault, and of Duke Henry of Lancaster and Isabel de Beaumont.⁵ At the time of Philippa's wedding, England was ruled by Richard II (1377-99), her cousin, who, in the previous year at Windsor, had signed a perpetual treaty of friendship with Portugal, with military and economic repercussions in the interest of the two realms.⁶

It is very likely, however, that Philippa's father, the Duke of Lancaster, had been the greatest mentor of this alliance. Through his second marriage to Constance, the daughter of the deceased king of Castile, Pedro I, he had become a pretender to the throne of his wife's native kingdom, and wished to use Portuguese help in its conquest. With this purpose in mind, the Lancaster family disembarked in Galicia at the end of July 1386, and, some months later, the king of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster met in Portuguese territory to negotiate a joint military campaign to invade Castilian soil. They sealed the pact with this marriage arrangement between the new king of Portugal and the duke's eldest daughter, Philippa. As a dower, the pretender to the throne of Castile and León would give his daughter and son-in-law a narrow but long line of Castilian territory along the border with Portugal (Figure 11.1).⁷ Therefore, the commitment between the two parts seemed to be to everyone's satisfaction.

The marriage took place some months later in the Portuguese town of Oporto. After a religious service on 2 February 1387 (the *sponsalia*), the king invited all the representatives of the crown's towns to join the clergy and the nobility in attending a public ceremony on 14 February, to join the diverse festivities and, possibly, to attend the assembly of all the kingdom's *strata* to decide several subjects in connection with the royal wedding and the realms' military and financial situation.

4 P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), chs. 9, 14, 16.

5 T.W.E. Roche, *Philippa: Dona Filipa of Portugal* (London, 1971), I; Manuela Santos Silva, *Filipa de Lencastre: A Rainha Inglesa de Portugal* (Lisbon, 2013), pp. 21-25.

6 Russell, *English Intervention in Spain and Portugal*, ch.16; Santos Silva, *Filipa de Lencastre*, pp. 98-102.

7 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, pp. 219.

Philippa of Lancaster's First Household (1387-88)

King João I's chronicler, Fernão Lopes, who was writing in the mid-fifteenth century, added that the summoning message informed the people that the king had taken the decision of forming his household and was sure that everyone would wish to be part of the process.⁸ As a result of this session of the Portuguese parliament, the king also decided to create a separate household for his wife.⁹ This was not a new procedure. More than a hundred years before, the fifth Portuguese monarch Afonso III (1210-79) had outlined a regiment for the royal household in which the queen's household members were nominated separately. Through that regiment, we know that his wife Beatriz, the daughter of King Alfonso X of Castile, was served by several domestic officials who were in charge of her household maintenance, and also by a chaplain, an administrator and a chancellor.¹⁰ And since the beginning of the Portuguese monarchy, there had also been several courtier women who called themselves "the queen's household dames."¹¹

For Philippa, at the time of her wedding, everything was new. She did not speak the language, even if she had had previous contact with the Castilian language through her step-mother Constance of Castile and the Castilian ladies of her household. Even though she had been in the Iberian Peninsula for less than one year, and even if she had had some experience in household management, it seems that she had little to say concerning the establishment of her own court. The first source to record Philippa of Lancaster's household as queen of Portugal is chapter 96 of the second part of João I's chronicle, included as a sequence of the narrative of the wedding ceremonies, and it is presented as a king's decision to give his wife a separate household and the means to maintain it.¹² By that time, the economic support which was

8 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 222; Armino de Sousa, *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)* (Porto, 1990), vol. 1, p. 295.

9 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, pp. 224-25.

10 António Resende de Oliveira, "Beatriz Afonso (1244-1300)" in eds Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques, Nuno Pinto Dias, Bernardo Sá-Nogueira, José Varandas, and António Resende de Oliveira, *As primeiras rainhas* (Lisbon, 2012), pp. 414-15.

11 Nuno Pinto Dias, "Dulce de Barcelona e Aragão ([1153-1159]-1198)," in eds Fernandes Marques et al., *As primeiras rainhas*, p. 171.

12 "[O]rdenou ell Rey casa a rainha e çerta remda pera sua despesa enquanto não lhe dava, como prometera, terras por guovernança de sua pessoa e estado." Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, pp. 224-25.

announced consisted of some of the royal taxes, but soon after this would be substituted by the rents and jurisdiction over six Portuguese towns.¹³

This dower (*arras*) that Portuguese kings used to give their wives was indeed the rule in the western Iberian marriages at least until the thirteenth century.¹⁴ The roots of this practice can be found in several different legal traditions in Europe, but in Portugal, León, and Castile it seems to have been transmitted through the Visigothic law codes.¹⁵ In other regions, the main aim of this concession was to ensure the maintenance of the wife after the death of her husband,¹⁶ but in Portugal, Castile and León the wives were able to profit immediately from their dowers.¹⁷ The rents generated by the dowers were the queens consorts' main income, from which they were able to sustain their households.¹⁸ When that amount was not enough to pay the expenses, their husbands could show them some generosity in conceding them some other possessions or royal taxes as maintenance (*mantimento*).¹⁹

The budget for Philippa's first household was 20,000 *dobras*.²⁰ The next year, 1388, the king summoned the representatives of the three estates to an assembly (*cortes*) in the town of Braga and with his advisers he made decisions about

- 13 Santos Silva, *Filipa de Lencastre*, p.199; Manuela Santos Silva, "A casa e o património da Rainha de Portugal D. Filipa de Lencastre: um ponto de partida para o conhecimento da Casa das Rainhas na Idade Média," *Signum: Revista da ABREM* 11:2 (2010): 207-27.
- 14 Frederico Francisco de la Figiñière, *Memórias das Rainhas de Portugal (D. Theresa-Santa Isabel* (Lisbon, 1859), p.xiii.
- 15 Paulo Merêa, "O dote nos documentos dos séculos IX-XII (Astúrias, Leão, Galiza e Portugal)," in ed. Paulo Merêa, *Estudos de Direito Hispânico Medieval* (Coimbra, 1952), vol. 1, p. 63; Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2012), pp. 1-24.
- 16 De la Figiñière, *Memórias das Rainhas de Portugal*, p. xviii.
- 17 Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *Rainhas de Portugal: Estudo Histórico* (Lisbon, 1878; facsimile ed., 2007), pp. 23-24.
- 18 Isabel Beceiro Pita, "Los dominios de la familia real castellana (1250-1350)," in *Genésis medieval del Estado Moderno: Castilla y Navarra (1250-1370)* (Valladolid, 1987), pp. 79-106, esp. p. 79.
- 19 For instance, Pedro I in a donation to his mother explained that this particular royal concession did not include authority towards criminal rights: "[O]s fechos crimjnaaes criminalmente ententados em que a jurdiçom he e deue seer mjnha e dos meus sucesores," Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo [hereafter, ANTT], Chancelaria de D. Pedro I, L. 1, fol.1.
- 20 This seems a very large sum. Some thirty years later, the wedding ceremony of the successor to the throne cost 90,000, and those of his siblings Isabel and João only 25,000. However, maintaining envoys in France and other countries abroad could be very expensive, almost 200,000. See Joseph Soares da Sylva, *Colecção dos Documentos com que se authorizam as memorias para a vida del Rey D. João I* (Lisbon, 1734), pp. 224-25.

the income that the women living in the queen's household should receive.²¹ According to the chronicler Fernão Lopes, the average amount earned by the household ladies was 150 pounds, but there were exceptions. One of the maidens, Dona Beatriz de Castro, considered to be one of the highest status women at court, earned 1000 pounds (20 *dobras castellãs*). Philippa's lady-in-waiting Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura, a widow appointed with the aim of teaching her the local Portuguese customs,²² received a little less, 800 pounds (16 *dobras castellãs*). Her daughter, Teresa Vasques Coutinha, was paid 200 pounds as the queen's main chambermaid. Those who had lower wages were called *donzelas* (maidens) as they were generally younger than the dames and were still single. These maidens in the entourage of the new queen, Philippa, were all orphans on their fathers' side. It is probable that although they belonged to the highest noble families, they were struggling with economic problems that could reduce their chances of achieving good marriages. The queen, of course, was in charge of the maintenance and of the occupational program of all of her companions and was to arrange suitable marriages for those who were still single.

According to these sources, Philippa was given some female companions of Portuguese origin to serve and care for her, and some trustworthy courtiers as her household officials.²³ Fernão Lopes lists D. Lopo Dias de Sousa, master of the Military Order of Christ, as administrator of the queen's domain (*Mordomo-mor*); Lourenço Eanes Fogaça, chancellor of the king, was appointed as her treasurer (*Governador da Sua Fazenda*); Afonso Martins, the monarch's private secretary, prior of the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, was named head-butler of the household (*Vedor da Casa*); and Fernão Lopes de Abreu and Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho were in charge of the food and drink supplies of the household, leading the team of domestic servers.

In addition to those in charge of these executive tasks, the chronicle also says that the king chose a chief chaplain, a confessor and other ministers for the divine service. But Fernão Lopes does not mention that the new queen had brought from her father's court in England the clergyman Adam Davempport, who had a law degree, and who had been rector of St. Peter Mancroft's church in Norwich by 1374. In Richard II's service, he had been in charge of diplomatic missions.²⁴ In Portugal, he was awarded a benefice in Saint Mary's Church, in

21 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 285; and de Sousa, *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas*, vol. 1, p. 298.

22 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 285.

23 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 225.

24 Edouard Perroy, ed., *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II* (London, 1933), doc. 8, p. 5; M. Dominica Legge, ed., *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls Ms. 182*

Lisbon's bishopric, as early as 1387.²⁵ Before 1399, however, he returned to England. In Portugal he would leave at least one legitimate descendant.²⁶ Fernão Lopes also does not mention Thomas Payn, who was the queen's treasurer and her private secretary.²⁷

William J. Entwistle and Peter E. Russell, in a very well-known essay written in 1940, believed that after the wedding, Queen Philippa of Lancaster was still surrounded by English clerics, officials and courtiers who were not mentioned in the chronicles.²⁸ But with the exceptions cited above, the evidence utilized was not entirely convincing.²⁹ Nevertheless, Fernão Lopes stresses that the queen was given by the king some squires for her service, and if some were Portuguese, others were English.³⁰ In addition, some later sources reveal the presence of some other servers of English origin in the Portuguese royal court.³¹ These early fifteenth century lists of the royal household members make us wonder if there were not also, at that moment in 1387-88, other English at her service from the retinue that had followed the Duke of Lancaster to the Iberian Peninsula.

Reforming the Royal Households (1402)

Political conditions were rough when Philippa of Lancaster became queen of Portugal. Conflicts between Portugal and Castile flared up between 1383 and 1385 with frequent conflicts on the borders ever since the battle of Aljubarrota, won by king João I of Portugal against Juan I of Castile and León on 14 August 1385. The new king of Portugal had promised to accompany his father-in-law

(Oxford, 1941), doc. 28, pp. 73-74; Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History, including Numerous Royal Letters from Autographs in the British Museum, The State Paper Office, and one or two other collections*, 3rd ser. (London, 1846), vol. 1, letter 24, pp. 52-53.

25 *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, eds A.H. de Oliveira Marques and João José Alves Dias (Lisbon, 2004), vol. 2, tomo 1, [11-272], p. 157 [1387, Braga, 28 de Setembro].

26 *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, vol. 3, tomo 2, [111-756], p. 223.

27 Dominica Legge, ed., *Anglo-Norman Letters*, doc. 307, p. 372; W.J. Entwistle and P.E. Russell, "A Rainha D. Felipa e a sua corte," *Congresso do Mundo Português. Publicações* (Lisbon, 1940), vol. 2, pp. 317-46, see p. 336.

28 Entwistle and Russell, "A Rainha D. Felipa e a sua corte," pp. 335-36.

29 Letter written around 1399, published in Dominica Legge (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Letters*, doc. 297, pp. 360-61.

30 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 225: "quoamtos vio que comprião."

31 Jorge Faro, ed., *Receitas e despesas da Fazenda Real de 1384 a 1481* (Subsídios Documentais) (Lisbon, 1965), pp. 27-29; *Monumenta Henricina* (Coimbra, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 289-93.

and give him logistical support in an invasion by both the English and the Portuguese armies in Castile. The main subject discussed in the parliamentary assemblies of the late fourteenth century was the realm's finances, and there is evidence that there were regular complaints about royal court expenses. Even so, on a daily basis, the royal court did not have a permanent location but rather was scattered around in diverse places forming autonomous groups, surrounding the king, the queen, or each one of the older princes. This allowed a measure of autonomy among the different households. In times of impecuniousness, there were appeals for the trimming of the expenses of the households and for the coordination of the service between them.

Since 1387 there had been an increase in the number of women belonging to the queen's entourage. In 1402,³² there was an attempt to reduce the court's expenses and, in particular, those of the queen's household.³³ It was proposed that, at the queen's service, there should only be four dames (*donas*) and fourteen maidens (*donzelas*). As for the servants, it was intended that Philippa should have only a maid and, probably, an assistant to the maid, but she could use the services of other court women and officials, whose number was not stipulated. There were also women at the king's service; however, they were mainly recruited from the lower strata and were engaged in cleaning, laundry or cooking tasks similar to other women's roles in the queen's service.³⁴ Dames or noble maidens would be honored in being accepted in court within the entourage of the queen. Some of them would be old companions of the queen-to-be and, in normal circumstances, would travel with her to her bridegroom's kingdom and remain in her household. Moreover, a large group of female relatives, noble widows, courtiers' wives and daughters would be expecting the arrival of the new queen to join her as companions and rejoice in her generosity.

There were periods when the kingdom spent some time without a queen – for most of the reign of Pedro I, in the early years of Ferdinand, and even in the first two years of João I's government. When that happened, the female courtier community had difficulties being integrated within the court. According to Fernão Lopes, it happened because “there was no queen or princess under whose mercy they could be kept.”³⁵ But there were always alternative ways of keeping the ladies in court: one of the king's sisters, her own mother, or a

32 Faro, *Receitas e despesas da Fazenda Real de 1384 a 1481*, p. 15.

33 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, pp. 457–58.

34 Rita Costa Gomes, *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal no Final da Idade Média* (Linda-a-Velha, 1995), pp. 46–62, esp. pp. 60–61.

35 “[H]i nom avia Rainha nem outra Iffamte [...] a cuja merçee se ouvessem dacostar.” Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 154.

daughter, would temporarily be in charge of the queen's household³⁶ "until there were another queen in the realm."³⁷

Those who desperately needed the queen's mercy most were the maidens, *donzelas*, who depended on their lady to arrange a suitable marriage and maintain them in the appropriate status of their birth. As fatherless young women, they needed to be cared for. The *donas* were either married or, as it seems often to be the case, widows. But they could also be single, if they were rich and important enough to maintain their own household, as was the case of Dona Beatriz de Castro.³⁸ This dame of the highest social rank was removed from the Portuguese royal court sometime after the arrival of the English queen for being involved in a sexual scandal with one of the king's *valet-de-chambre*.³⁹ Her destiny was the Castilian court where all the adversaries of King João I of Portugal were welcome.

But even if there were successive waves of deserters from the king's entourage to Castile and a continuous pressure exerted by the Royal Council to cut expenses as we have seen, the number of residents in the royal households continued to increase in the first decades of the fifteenth century.

The List of the Royal Households' Residents (1405)

A list of the royal households' residents, around the year 1405,⁴⁰ gives us the names of thirty *donas*, costing their lady 59,200 pounds monthly, plus the cost of ten maidens and some servants. On this list Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura continues to take precedence among the companions of the queen, earning 9,000 pounds, and her daughter Mécia Vasques – who did not appear in previous listings – had an income of 8,000 pounds. Leonor Vasques, her sister, was cited in third place with a much smaller revenue. After her on the list four ladies and a nanny called Maria Vasques were mentioned, each of them paid 1,200 pounds.⁴¹ Dona Joana, of English origin, was the daughter of the master (*filha do mestre*) Fernando Afonso Albuquerque, Master of the military order

36 Costa Gomes, *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal*, p.58.

37 Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, ed. Carlos Miranda (Lisbon, s.d.), Chap. 43, p. 95.

38 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 225.

39 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, pp. 301-303.

40 Faro, *Receitas e despesas da Fazenda Real de 1384 a 1481*, pp. 27-29; *Monumenta Henricina* (Coimbra, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 289-93.

41 Faro, *Receitas e despesas da Fazenda Rea de 1384 a 1481*, p. 42.

of Santiago and former ambassador in England of King João I of Portugal (1385-87).⁴² Filipa de Ataíde was perhaps a relative of Mécia Vasques who had been married to Martim Gonçalves de Ataíde.⁴³ Meanwhile Teresa Vasques, the former main chamber-maid, had married Dom Martinho de Meneses and had lost her preeminence, but not her place, in the queen's intimacy.⁴⁴ Finally, there was someone called Dona Catalina. At the end of the list, but still clearly socially important in the eyes of the queen as is shown through the high wages they were paid, were Leonor Pereira, her companion since 1387, and Dona Briolanja, whose service was compensated with 1,300 pounds. We still find the names of Dona Beatriz de Melo, two relatives of the queen's lady-in-waiting who used Moura as their family name, and a second nanny who earned 1,000 pounds per month. The other female members of the household certainly belonged to families of lower importance, with their earnings ranging from 200 and 700 pounds.⁴⁵

Among these thirty women, the ten maidens, rewarded by 900 pounds per month each, were not included in the listing, but they are referred to in an additional item.⁴⁶ Also not included are the three *covilheiras* in charge of the cleaning of the queen's lodgings, who each received 1,000 pounds as an individual payment, the chamber-maid who earned 900, and the other servers of the queen and her *infants* (princes) that cost the royal treasure 7,500 pounds. The last woman to be paid by the queen's income was her private baker, who received 600 pounds.

The "Queen's Household" was composed not only of women but also included a similar number of men who played roles in the household. The names of twenty-seven officials can be found, along with thirty-one stable servers, most of whom were horsemen essential for an itinerant court.

42 Costa Gomes, *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal*, p.70. Fernão Lopes explains: "ficou dele huma filha pequena que ouvera de huma inglesa, que chamavão Loria, que trazia cõsigo, a quoall ell Rey criou e casou depois por tempo cõ Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho, marichal da sua oste, semdo ele emtão veuvo de sua primeira molher. [The Master of the Military Order of Santiago had brought with him to Portugal a young daughter he had by an English woman called Loria. The king brought her up and, after a long time, married her to Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho, his army's marshal, when he became a widower of his first wife]." *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 213.

43 Luís Filipe Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos: Linhagem, Espaço e Poder (1360-1452)* (Cascais, 1999), pp. 27, 41.

44 Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos*, pp. 27, 41; and *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, vol. 2, tomo 1 [11-578], pp. 297-99.

45 Faro, *Receitas e despesas da Fazenda Real de 1384 a 1481*, pp. 41-42.

46 Faro, *Receitas e despesas da Fazenda Real de 1384 a 1481*, p. 43.

A veterinarian and a horse-farrier (*ferrador*) were also needed for the maintenance of the horses' good health and performance.

Those who earned the highest wages were the household supervisor, who was paid 9,000 pounds, followed by the chancellor, whose salary was 6,000 pounds. Philippa's private secretary earned 2,300 pounds, 600 pounds more than the kitchen-scribe. Among the names of the household staff we find the cook and the tailor, both named *Richarte*,⁴⁷ who were probably English; both received 1,600 pounds monthly. It seems that Philippa still wanted to maintain her own English customs, at least in as far as food and clothing were concerned. The queen could contract some other officials if she thought it was necessary for the good management of the household. In the 1405 listing, those appeared in "surplus." To the spending on personnel, expenses linked to wardrobes, the distribution of food – bread and wine – and even wage payments must be added. Most of these men and women lived most of the time in court and were rewarded for it from the queen's income.

The Prominence of the Coutinhos' Lineage within the Queen's Household

Among all these residents, the dominance of the Coutinho family within the queen's household is evident. As we have seen, Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura, the widow of Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, was the queen's lady-in-waiting from 1387 until Philippa's death in 1415. Her daughters Teresa Vasques, Leonor Vasques, and Mécia Vasques accompanied her as her close confidantes throughout most of this time. The latter was compensated for her services in nurturing or educating the monarchs' children in 1398.⁴⁸ By that time her husband, Martim Gonçalves de Ataíde, had also been favored by the king in 1399.⁴⁹ When Mécia Gonçalves became a widow⁵⁰ she entered the queen's household and became the second lady nominated in the list of 1402-1405, just after her mother. Meanwhile, in 1392, Teresa Vasques, the former principal maid, married Dom Martinho de Meneses and together with her husband received an

47 Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *D. João I: O que re-colheu Boa Memória* (Lisbon, 2005), p. 142.

48 *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, vol. 2, tomo 3 [11-1455], p. 81.

49 *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom Duarte*, ed. Joao José Alves Dias (Lisbon, 1998), tomo 1 [308], pp.168-69.

50 Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos*, pp. 27, 41.

important territorial donation from the queen.⁵¹ Other damsels in the entourage of the queen may belong to the same lineage. Filipa de Ataíde seems to have been a relative of Mécia Vasques, the widow of Martim Gonçalves de Ataíde.⁵² Two maidens with the surname Moura also seem to have been relatives of Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura.

In addition Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho, the first born son of Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura, would marry another damsel from the queen's household: Dona Joana, of English origin, the daughter of the Master of the Military Order of Santiago, who was born while he was in England negotiating the invasion of Castile by the Duke of Lancaster.⁵³ In 1407, Leonor Vasques, Beatriz's youngest maiden, would marry a king's nephew, a bastard son of his half-brother João de Castro, son of Inês de Castro and king Pedro I of Portugal.⁵⁴ The importance of the Coutinho family in Philippa of Lancaster's household is overwhelming, and this prompts questions of why that happened. What did the king, and then the queen, owe to this family to cause them to favor them so heavily?

Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura, Philippa's lady-in-waiting, who was chosen to teach the queen the uses of her new kingdom, could probably speak and understand one of the languages spoken by her lady, possibly Castilian or French, but probably not English. We know very little about her and her family outside the household of Philippa of Lancaster. Was she, with her family, an example of loyalty and support for the king of Portugal who had been enthroned as a result of a civil war involving the kingdom of Castile? She had married Vasco Fernandes Coutinho in 1361 who, at the time, was an esquire to King Pedro I of Portugal. After the wedding, the first concessions of territory and offices that favored the couple were located in Alentejo, south of river Tejo, where Beatriz had probably been born (Moura is a town in Alentejo and could indicate her place of origin). Vasco Fernandes's father died about 1372 and he claimed his inheritance in a northern part of the kingdom, a region along the border with Leon and Castile. He managed to influence the successor of king Pedro, Fernando I, to grant him an important administrative task in the same region. Therefore, the Coutinho family installed its residency in the old town of Lamego and started its connection with the region of Beira Alta.⁵⁵ Vasco Fernandes died at the end of 1383 or in the first days of 1384. By that time it

51 Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos*, pp. 27, 41; and *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, v 2, tomo 1 [11-578], pp. 297-99.

52 Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos*, pp. 27, 41.

53 Costa Gomes, *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal*, p. 70.

54 Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos*, p. 40.

55 Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos*, pp. 32-35.

would have been possible for his widow to join the household of queen Leonor Teles, widow of king Fernando I and regent of the realm. If she did not, it may have been due to instability after the death of king.

Between the various parties contending for the throne, Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura and her son Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho did not want to choose before carefully observing the political and military situation. Even later, as the situation evolved and only two candidates were in the running, they still waited to see who would be the winner: King Juan I of Castile, married to Beatriz, Fernando I and Leonor Teles's daughter; or João, the Master of the Military Order of Avis, Fernando I's half-brother.

The chronicler Fernão Lopes narrates a very interesting episode which dates from the succession war period. Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho was then the commander of the local troops of the two most important towns in the region where he was proprietor. The candidate João I was arriving at the town of Guarda, not far from either town, and almost all the king's servers were ready to receive him as prospective king. Nevertheless, Gonçalo Vasques was hesitating, and his mother – Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura – recommended that he should not take part in the conflict, because a violent entrance into Portugal by the other pretender, the king of Castile, was expected at any moment. And so, following his mother's advice, Gonçalo Vasques was one of the high ranking military personnel who did not appear at the reception.⁵⁶

Later, however, he was in favor of João's acclamation as king in the Parliament session held in Coimbra in 1385. That action brought him thirteen territorial donations that enlarged his domain in his family's traditional region. No doubt these concessions of castles and towns enhanced his political and military power, and certainly made him give his support to João I in most battles against his dynastic enemies.⁵⁷ As a reward, he was also chosen as an official of the queen's household and, in 1387, he would become the *Marechal*, the main military post of the realm.

As for his own familial connections, he married a daughter of a loyal vassal of King Fernando;⁵⁸ after the death of his first wife, he married the daughter of the master of one of the most important Peninsular Military Orders who was one of the main supporters of the new King João I.⁵⁹ Even if the first-born Coutinho was the one who received the most tangible signs of royal

56 Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, pp. 116-17.

57 Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos*, p. 37.

58 Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando* (Porto, 1979), pp. 171-72.

59 Costa Gomes, *A Corte dos Reis de Portugal*, p. 70; Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 2, p. 213.

appreciation,⁶⁰ many others, even all the family members, were also favored by the queen or the king. The second-born sons also appear to be recipients of royal privileges. Rui Vasques was married in 1399, but he had already received grants from the monarchs in the previous year, probably to assist him in setting up his own dynastic power base.⁶¹ Fernão Martins Coutinho, vassal of the king, married Leonor de Sousa and in 1394 the king granted him privileges which would increase in 1396.⁶² And in the royal circle, namely the household of Philippa, other characters emerged as relatives of the Coutinhos through the mother's family. Dona Leonor Gonçalves de Moura, for instance, married Gil Vasques da Cunha,⁶³ whose son Fernando Vasques da Cunha became a knight and vassal of the king.⁶⁴

Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura was one of the privileged few who saw the concession of her privileges being signed not only by the king or by the queen but by both of them together, along with the heir to the crown. Her influence in the royal court and especially in the queen's entourage was undeniable. In the chronicles, she always appeared near her queen, sharing private news with her, counselling her, and consoling her. Even the king seemed to treat her like family.⁶⁵ She was certainly Philippa's confidante, but she had also exercised agency with respect to her queen. Some of the benefices conceded to members of the clergy and other nobles had Beatriz as the promoter. She outlived her lady, and for three years accompanied Isabel, Philippa's daughter, as the new head of the queen's household.⁶⁶

The queen died in 1415, many years before her husband. The chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara describes in detail the circumstances in which the queen, preparing for her imminent death, recommended to her husband and successor that they should care for the material wellbeing of all the dames who lived in her household. According to this account, her lady-in-waiting, Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura, reminded her queen that she should make provisions for the future of the young princess. The queen was immediately assisted by Prince Pedro, her second son, who suggested that because there was no other queen in the realm, his father should give all of Philippa's goods to their daughter. She

60 *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, vol. 3, tomo 1 [I-164], p. 75.

61 *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, vol. 3, tomo 2, [III-590], p. 120, [III-591], p. 122, [III-593], p. 125.

62 *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, vol. 3, tomo 1, [III-222], p. 133.

63 *Faro, Receitas e despesas da Fazenda Real de 1384 a 1481*, pp. 41-42.

64 *Chancelarias Portuguesas: Dom João I*, vol. 4, tomo 1, [IV-363], p. 238.

65 Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, pp. 87-88.

66 Ana Paula Jerónimo Antunes, *De Infanta de Portugal a Duquesa da Borgonha. D. Isabel de Lencastre e Avis (1397-1429)* (Lisbon, 2013), pp. 42-43.

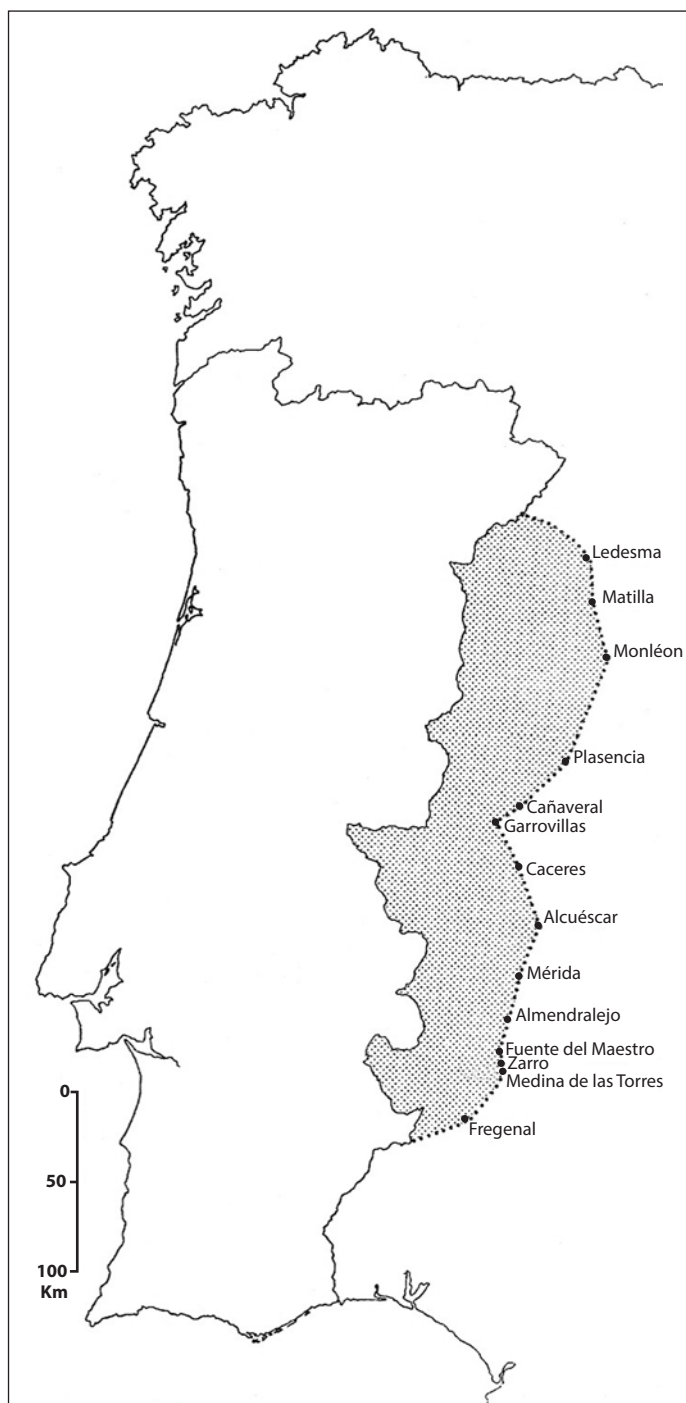


FIGURE 11.1
The Castilian and Leonese territories that constituted the dowry of Philippa of Lancaster in accordance with the Treaty of Ponte de Mouro (1387). A.H. de Oliveira Marques, "Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV," in eds Joel Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, Nova História de Portugal (Lisbon, 1987), vol. 4, p. 535.

obtained the agreement of Duarte and Henrique, the older *infants*, and of the king. Princess Isabel became Philippa's successor, and led the household for many years before becoming duchess of Burgundy.⁶⁷ And although Philippa had put Pedro in charge of caring for the women in her household, she put both Beatriz and her daughter Mécia under the special protection of Duarte, the future king.⁶⁸

Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura was undoubtedly a dominant presence at the court of Portugal during the reign of the Avis dynasty. We see her as a beneficiary of a series of privileges from the very beginning of the reign, as well as an intercessor concerning others. The social consideration due to her was indisputable. The main biographer of the Coutinho lineage, Luís Filipe Oliveira, says that "in 1418, the funeral of Beatriz Gonçalves de Moura became a true national event, taking almost the entire Court to the Salzedas monastery, where she was buried, probably next to her husband."⁶⁹

With her help and guidance, Philippa, the English queen of Portugal, was able to lead a harmonious and prominent household, and perform her role as queen in a way that her husband's subjects considered highly positive. Outside her household, she had representatives in all her towns receiving rents and helping to administer justice to the local populations. She managed her own chancery and treasury, and was able to maintain connections with her family of origin. However, for many Portuguese scholars, she was essentially the mother of six illustrious children who were brought up, during their childhood, within her own household. And as a model mother and a loyal wife, she was an example to be followed by all the ladies of her kingdoms.⁷⁰

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- 68 Zurara, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, p. 94.
- 69 Oliveira, *A Casa dos Coutinhos*, p. 42.
- 70 *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte (livro da Cartuxa)*, p.237. See Manuela Santos Silva, "Felipa de Lancaster, la dama inglesa que fue modelo de reginalidad en Portugal," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46:1 (2016): 203-30.

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Royal Household and Political Parties: The Configuration of Ferdinand the Catholic's Entourage in Castile (1469-1516)

Germán Gamero Igea

Introduction

The reign of the Catholic Monarchs Isabel I of Castile (b. 1451, r. 1469-1504) and Fernando II of Aragón (b. 1452, r. 1469-1516) is considered to be a moment of profound change in the Hispanic, and even Iberian, political systems.¹ In the same way, for Hispanic historiography, it is conventionally the point at which the move from the Middle Ages to the modern era happens. Among the various changes that took place, some of the most important were those related to government systems, which various scholars have sought to analyze and explain.² More specifically, and for the following pages, the matrimonial union between Castile and Aragón, and the configuration of a dual monarchical system, a co-reign, or a “lordship of one,” provide the institutional and historiographic context. Facing a question that has produced many rivers of ink, my proposed approach to this case combines two of the most influential

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- 1 It is difficult to define when exactly Fernando and Isabel began to “reign” as the Catholic Monarchs (“los Reyes Católicos”). For this essay, I am inclined to set the date of their marriage as the moment when both began to be “kings” of the kingdom of Sicily. By tradition, the historiography has marked 1474 as the first moment when they stepped up to govern Castile after the death of Enrique IV, Isabel's brother.
- 2 Luis Suarez Fernández, *Los Reyes Católicos* (Barcelona, 2004); Julio Valdeón Barúque, *Los Trastámaras: el triunfo de una dinastía bastarda* (Madrid, 2001); Jaime Vicens Vives, *Historia crítica de la vida y reinado de Fernando II de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1962); Ernest Belenguer Cebriá, *Historia de la España Moderna: desde los Reyes Católicos hasta Felipe II* (Madrid, 2011); Tarsicio de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica* (Madrid, 1993); José Ángel Sesma Muñoz, *Fernando de Aragón: Hispanorum Rex* (Zaragoza, 1992), John Elliott, *La España imperial (1469-1716)* (Barcelona, 1979); and John Edwards, *Isabel de Castilla y Fernando de Aragón: Constructores de un régimen* (Madrid, 2007).

approaches to the historiography of power: first, the interrelatedness of the private and public spheres, including its institutional facet; second, and in connection with the first approach, the relationship between Fernando and Isabel, rulers of the realms of Aragón-Castile, from the perspective of the court's history. The ideas behind this analysis are indebted to José Martínez Millán and his research group's investigations, which suggest that an analysis of the courts of the monarchic states reveals a new perspective.³ It allows us to appreciate the construction of the "Modern State" as a process tied especially to the elites of the reigns, and also, in this way, to the interconnectedness between personal and political dimensions.

Recent research reveals little doubt that the court system played an essential role in the articulation of the territories of Fernando and Isabel's heirs, the Habsburgs. The configuration of a complex communication mechanism that tended towards both the proliferation of nuclei of power (the creation of vice-royalties) and towards the expansions of the government's superior instance (the Court) has been well studied.⁴ In this we can observe the evolution of a mutually beneficial symbiosis among the households of Burgundy, Castile, and Aragón. If the Crown of Aragón contributed many of the instruments that allowed for the development of its viceroyalties, the development in Castile, for its part, paved the way for the positioning of the royal court. For this reason, in this study I will focus my attention on the Castilian realm, despite the fact that Fernando was, above all, an Aragonese king.

Because of its intermediary position, the role of the court of the Catholic Monarchs has not received sufficient attention. In part, this underappreciation is due to the mythos of both monarchs, and especially that of Isabel.⁵ On the other hand, the availability of archival sources (split between two archives), their different histories of document conservation, as well as the multiple

3 José Martínez Millán, ed., *La Monarquía de Felipe II: la Casa del rey* (Madrid, 2005), pp. 33-42; and Theresa Earenfight, "Two Bodies, One Spirit: Isabel and Fernando's Construction of Monarchical Partnership," in ed. Barbara F. Weissberg *Queen Isabel I of Castile. Power, Patronage, Persona* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 3-18.

4 See also José Martínez Millán, ed., *La corte de Carlos V* (Madrid, 2006); idem, *La Monarquía de Felipe II: la Casa del Rey* (Madrid, 2005); idem, *La monarquía de Felipe III: la Casa del Rey* (Madrid, 2008); and idem, *La Corte de Felipe IV (1621-1665): Reconfiguración de la Monarquía católica* (Madrid, 2015).

5 Isabel's court has been studied much more than that of her son. See Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I* (Madrid, 2002); María del Cristo González Marero, *La Casa de Isabel la Católica. Espacios domésticos y vida cotidiana* (Ávila, 2005); and Isabel del Val Valdivieso, "La educación en la corte de la Reina Católica," *Miscelánea Comillas: Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales* 69 (2011): 255-73.

institutions and traditions of the realms and court organization, calls for the employment of a methodology that allows us to combine two standards.⁶ For this study, I have systematically analyzed two groups of documents. First, the registers of the clerk who kept the household accounts of the royal treasury (*Escribanía de Ración*). The record of this official, charged broadly with managing the expenses of the court, reveals the ruling vision of the Aragonese court. For the other court, that of Castile, because of the growing recent interest in studies of Isabel's court, it has been necessary to analyze different archival series from the Archivo General of Simancas. The most relevant sections are the Royal Works and the Forests (*Casa Real Obras y Bosques*), the Office of Rents (*Escribanía Mayor de Rentas*), particularly the sections on privileges (*Sección Mercedes y Privilegios*), the State (*Estado*), and the Household of Castile (*Cámara de Castilla*), among others.

Now that studies of monarchies have ceased to consider the kings' roles in government as exclusive, we must make way for the study of other collaborators who formed part of their families, that is, their political families: their courtiers.⁷ Throughout the following pages, I will try to explain this collaboration through two lines of power. First of all, I will analyze the evolution of the Royal Household in Castile, keeping in mind the important transformations that occurred during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs and the role of the consort's house in this realm. Second, I will consider a less institutional, and more personal dimension based on the role that the political parties had in the day-to-day government, as well as how these more personal ties influenced the development of the monarchs' households. My analysis therefore builds on the foundational understanding that the reign of the Catholic Monarchs is characterized by a double tendency for the consolidation of a single power, and at the same time, for the division of power between two centers (the king and the queen). It is true that the stability of the reign has provided the image of a unity between the two partners. Nevertheless, we should consider the weight of propaganda in this regard and the complicated political situation of both realms (Castile and Aragón faced a civil war during the fifteen century).

6 For a comparison of the different royal courts of the Iberian peninsula, see Rita Costa Gomes, *A corte dos Reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média* (Lisbon, 1995), pp. 11-37. For a view of the interaction among the courts, especially in Iberia, see her essay, "The Court Galaxy," in eds Anthony Molho, Diogo Ramada Curto, and Niki Koniordos *Finding Europe: Discourses on Margins, Communities, Images* (New York, 2007), pp. 185-204.

7 For a study of the participation of women as partners in the governance of the Spanish realms, see essays in ed. Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot, 2005).

Even further, we should not dismiss all the historiographical conclusions about the different way of exercising medieval power regarding gender. Each of the two sections of this paper will focus on one of these two aspects: the system of households will be highlighted as a mechanism for trans-personalization, and it will be established that the political parties are an example of the tendency towards personalization. Of course, the development's complexity makes it so that none of the divisions are watertight, and allows us to make crosswise references.

Throughout this process some of the most influential factors were changes in gender roles and the appearance of a king-consort; both of these aspects are therefore key concerns of this work. However, the role of king-consort carried out by Fernando II of Aragón (r. 1479-1516) was not unprecedented in the Iberian Peninsula's history.⁸ In order to contextualize and better understand his political position, the first section of this work is dedicated to becoming familiar with the medieval traditions that the Catholic Monarchs inherited, which will permit us to join them, like another ring, into the chain of Spain's political history.

Antecedents in the Development of Iberian Courts

As is often the case, we cannot understand the government of the Catholic Monarchs without considering the weighty legacies of the territories that they governed. The trajectory of Castile, like that of Aragón and Navarre, is key to the contextualization of the dynamism that characterized the years of their reign. An understanding of the traditions inherited from the Crown of Aragón is indispensable for our questions regarding the organization of the households and the symbiosis between the two sovereigns.

Let us draw our attention back to the formation of the Crown, since the need to combine gender, politics, and geography is made clear in the very first realms of its king-counts. Because of the composite character of their territories, as well as their strong political personalities, the monarchs needed to implement a solution with the particular intent of converting themselves into the heads of three highly distinct territories. However, because of its importance to later courts, our starting point is the *Ordinacions* of Pedro IV the

8 For the figure of the king-consort, not just in the Iberian peninsula, see Charles Beem and Miles Taylor, eds, *The Man behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History* (Basingstoke, 2014).

Ceremonious (b. 1319, r. 1336-87).⁹ Although in a very different way than was articulated in the modern era, the necessity for the king's court, and especially his household, to reflect the political diversity of his territories had already been contemplated in this text.¹⁰ Although it did not establish a system of three different houses, it did require the existence of three stewards, one for each of the peninsula's territories (Aragón, Cataluña, and Valencia), who exercised their authority over the rest through their displacement of the court. As such, the *domus* became a stage for the representation of the kingdoms and, in this way, we also observe the politicization of their agents and their material culture. The first administrative entries of Fernando's court, which date to his time as prince, capture these characteristics. Through them, we know that Enrique Enríquez was appointed steward following the above model and terminology.¹¹ As such, Fernando, in principle, assumed an Aragonese intervention model, even if, as we will see below, his intervention in Castile and his position as king-consort would complicate this development.

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- 9 Because this study begins with the era of Pedro IV, we must take into account that the problem began much earlier. For example, it is possible to emphasize the offices of the Chancellor (*Cancellor Mayor*) in Castile and León after the union of those two kingdoms, as well as that of the Chaplain (*Capellán Mayor*) of Aragón and Cataluña, that was formed by marriage of Petronila to Ramón Berenguer IV. On the royal court in the high Middle Ages, see Jaime de Salazar y Acha, *La casa del Rey de Castilla y León en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 2000). On the Aragonese court, a brilliant study is that of Marta Van-Landingham, *Transforming the State: King, Court and Political Culture in the Realms of Aragon (1213-1387)* (Leiden, 2002). For other considerations about the Aragonese royal court, see Alana Lord, Chapter 9 in this volume, "Our Servants Say Scandalous Things about You': Royal Households in the Fourteenth-Century Crown of Aragon," an excellent example of the exercise of power by the Aragonese courtiers at the end of the Middle Ages.
- 10 It is important to note that among the Iberian historical traditions, the term *Casa* has substantially different meanings. In this case, I use the term in the strictest sense. Pedro IV established different departments: chamber (*Cámara*), household (*Casa*), chapel (*Capilla*), and fiscal accounting (*Maestro Racional*). All of these departments had their own organizational hierarchies, and in general, had well-defined boundaries, which was very different from that of the realm of Castile. For an up-to-date study of the court of Pedro IV, with particular attention to the composition of the court, see Alexandra Beauchamp, "La composition de la Casa i Cort du Roi d'Aragon: Normes et pratiques au debut du règne de Pierre le Cérémonieux," *Erasmus: Revista de Historia Bajomedieval y Moderna* 1 (2014): 21-42.
- 11 Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [ACA]: Real Patrimonio [RP], Maestre Racional [MR], vol. 939, fol. 91v. For a study on the work of the Castilian administrator, see Germán Gamero Igea, "El modelo administrativo de la Corte de Fernando el Católico: Cambios y permanencias en la gestión cortesana de la Corona de Aragón," *E-Spania* 20 (2015). <<https://e-spania.revues.org/24234>>, accessed 1 September 2015.

However, before arriving at that moment, there is another important piece of inherited influence that is much more direct, and one that has more obvious implications for the three Spanish territories. I am referring to the political activities of *infante* (prince) Juan de Trastámara (b. 1398-1479), who ruled as Juan I of Navarre through his marriage to Queen Blanca (r. 1425-79) and also as Juan II of Aragón (r. 1458-79), known also as “the Great,” or “the Faithless.” Because of the different chapters that marked the king’s long career, Juan represents a key point in the internationalization of Iberian politics. He also provides an inescapable example of the effects of the king-consort position (in Navarre), and is, perhaps, the best model of the revitalization process of court factions in Castile.

The figure of Juan de Trastámara is significant for his ties to an older tradition that was vitally important for the construction of the Catholic Monarchs’ “diarchy.” This form of shared governance was modelled on the dual government during Juan II of Castile’s minority (b. 1405, r. 1406-56) when two regents, his mother, Queen Catalina of Lancaster (b. 1373, r. 1393-1406) and his uncle, Fernando de Antequera (b. 1380, ruled as king of Aragon, 1412-14) ruled. And Fernando’s grandfather, Martín I (b. 1356, ruled as king of Aragon, 1396-1410) ruled briefly with his wife, Maria de Luna. While it is true that we should not commit the error of comparing these two distinct moments, we would be mistaken if we did not consider Juan II’s regency as an ideological and propagandistic precedent of Fernando and Isabel’s reign. For example, the revitalization of the already very diffuse factions (*petrista* and *enriqueño*) under the regency governments clearly acquired a new naturalization card under the names of the new “monarchic” and “Aragonese” parties, with Juan de Trastámara being the visible head of the latter. We should not, however, speak in terms of monolithic blocks; each of the new parties underwent its own process of evolution. Yet, its duality reinforced the position of the political parties as the only poles of power opposite the king’s household in the Castilian reign. Furthermore, it was not only a question of political opportunity. There were substantial differences between the two, such as the weight of *amicitia* (friendship) versus *oikonomía* (economics), respectively, in the organization and representation of political power.¹² The interplay between the one and the other would be

12 The concept of the royal favorite, the *privanza* (also, *privado*), is one aspect of the study of the court that distorts and mixes the social realities of court. The *privanza*, someone midway between a friend of the king and his representative in monarchical government, and an advocate of royal power, was also part of the factions and noble parties. Lack of space does not permit me to enter into that debate, but for recent publications on the subject, see for example, François Foronda, “La Monarchie électorale dans la Castille du xve siècle.

a fundamental factor in the articulation of the Catholic Monarchs' political system. Further still, returning to the influence passed down by Catalina and Fernando, it should be emphasized that the Salomonic division of the principal organs of government into two groups maintained the institutional unity. It is also important to note that this division is not comparable to the lived situation in Isabel and Fernando's times, but rather that it represents a valuable precedent in the historiography.¹³

The richness of Juan de Trastámara's policies should not be limited only to Castile, as his image as king-consort was equally important in Navarre. As many scholars have found, the marital agreements between Blanca and Juan drew heavily from the Navarrese tradition, and were cautious in regards to external influences on their reign.¹⁴ For our question this serves as a useful counterpoint to the situation. The kingdom of Navarre under Juan I of Trastámara provides an example of (relative) unity between a reigning queen and her king-consort. Even more interestingly, with Juan and Blanca's marriage, the king's court did not come to be considered as Navarrese.¹⁵ The external meddling with their retinues that queens customarily experienced was eliminated because in this case, the consort was male. In addition, the king-consort did not receive a specific lordship, as would have been the case for a queen-consort. In this regard, the only section that is established in the marriage agreement is that which required the availability of the funds that financed the activity of Navarrese monarchs. The clause is somewhat ambiguous (though this does not reduce its importance) in that it obliges Juan in categorical terms to dispense 14,000 *florines* to his wife each year for the upkeep of her "casa y estado" (house and well-being).¹⁶ It is significant that Juan de Trastámara was Duke of Peñafiel, one of the most important lordships in Castile, which produced more income than the Navarrese monarchs' holdings. The fact that Juan

Retour sur la farce d'Avila (5 juin 1465)," in ed. Corinne Péneau, *Élections et pouvoirs politiques du VII^e siècle au XVII^e siècle* (Paris 2008), pp. 351-81; and idem, *La privanza ou le régime de la faveur: Autorité monarchique et puissance aristocratique en Castille XIII^e-XV^e siècles* (Paris, 2003).

13 Concerning the disputes over the duplication of the principal organs of government, see Ana Echevarria, *Catalina de Lancaster* (Hondarribia 2002), pp. 111-17.

14 Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics, and Partnership, 1274-1512* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 93.

15 Very few scholars have addressed the court of Juan I of Navarre. One interesting study is by María Isabel Ostolaza Elizondo, "D. Juan de Aragón y Navarra, un verdadero príncipe Trastámara," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 16 (2000): 591-610.

16 Manuel de Bofarull y Sartorio, ed., *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 41 vols (Barcelona, 1847-1910), vol. 26 (1864), p. 286.

did not assume a particular Navarrese household (as was also the case for Felipe de Evreux) entailed a distancing from the institutional practices for sovereign consorts.¹⁷ Especially in Juan's case, his practices (royal etiquette) were relatively removed from the Franco-Navarrese customs. Furthermore, the presence of foreigners and their various interests outside of the realm prevented the court, at least in theory, from identifying itself as a regular court. In any case, this characteristic turned out to be largely advantageous. Juan was not obliged to integrate those Navarrese who did not have great faith in him, nor was he forced to conform his lifestyle to that of his constituents. His high degree of power and independence with respect to his wife Blanca, the queen regnant, was only possible thanks to his vast capital and the freedom authorized by the marriage contract. However, it is difficult to determine whether this was granted by his position as a man, his wealth, or his marital negotiations. Yet, and despite the fact that he would set an example for his son, it is not possible from this example to articulate what the general tone was for all king consorts. The clearest example of this is the English reign of Felipe I (b. 1527, r. 1554-1558), king-consort to Mary I of England (b. 1516, r. 1553-58), who was heavily constricted by the English court. In the measure allowed by his political capacity, Felipe had to work to reduce this imposition, though it was not easy.¹⁸

Finally, it is important in this context to recognize the Portuguese contributions, which passed directly to Isabel and which are essential for our understanding of the Castilian context. The Portuguese kingdom provides us with other examples of diarchy. For example, the close relationship between Afonso V (b. 1432, r. 1438-1481) and his son (João II of Portugal, b. 1455, r. 1481-95) developed two poles of power linked by blood, rather than by marriage. Similarly, the political capacity of Juana de Portugal, second wife of Enrique IV of Castile (b. 1425, r. 1454-1464), and mother of a daughter Juana (Isabel of Castile's rival for the throne), was significant because of the special impact she would have on Isabel. Paying attention to the accounts of Enrique IV we know

17 For a close study of the household of the Navarrese queens, see María Narbona Cárcelos, *La corte de Carlos III el noble, rey de Navarra: espacio doméstico y escenario de poder, 1376-1415* (Pamplona, 2006), pp. 387-500. For other territories, see Diana Pelaez Flores, "La imagen de la reina consorte como muestra de poder en el reino de Castilla durante el siglo XV: Construcción y significado," *Medievalismo* 23 (2013): 265-90; Jayne L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 220-261; and Manuela Santos Silva, "A Casa e o Património da Rainha de Portugal D. Filipa de Lencastre," *Revista Signum* 2 (2010): 207-27.

18 John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven, 2011), pp. 200-25; and Glyn Redworth, "Matters Impertinent to Women: Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary," *English Historical Review* 112 (1997): 597-613.

that Queen Juana's court had a breadth and volume of resources similar to that of her husband's, the king regnant, at its disposal.¹⁹ This provides another counterpoint that is essential for our understanding of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. The development of large royal households, which without doubt had begun long before, would see unusual growth during the reign of Isabel and Fernando. It is therefore necessary to explain the development of our protagonists' kingdom in a way that includes all of these coordinates.

Fernando's Position in the Royal Household of Castile

Two possibilities emerged in the years immediately preceding Fernando II of Aragón's arrival – either the creation of a grand household for the consort, or the elimination of the consort's household. It is therefore necessary to examine carefully the evolution of the Catholic King's retinue, and, on the other hand, the duality between Isabel and Fernando, which enjoyed certain characteristics that made it unique.

The most institutional aspect – an analysis of the situation of the court – permits an assessment of the measure to which the political evolutions of this kingdom contributed to the depersonalization of the government, and especially the “king's” household. To achieve this, before diving into Fernando the Catholic's court, we should consider how the court dynamic functioned in Castile for the period under discussion. The positions of king consort and of queen regnant both represented exceptions to the regular court dynamic, and an analysis of the political evolution from each of their positions reveals that during the reign of Isabel I, a special sensitivity towards questions regarding the households and representations of the dignity of the highest-ranking members of the royal family emerged. For example, the *infantes* Jaime and Dionis, members of the Portuguese high nobility exiled in Castile, enjoyed households supported by the Castilian treasure.²⁰ The Grenadian *infantes* Juan and Fernando also received favors annually in terms of “ayuda de costa” (incen-

19 Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, “Las Casas de Isabel y Juana de Portugal, reinas de Castilla. Organización, dinámica institucional y prosopografía (1447-1496),” in eds José Martínez Millán and María Paula Marçal Lourenço, *Las relaciones discretas entre las Monarquías Hispánica y Portuguesa: Las Casas de las Reinas (Siglos IV-XIX)*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2008), vol. 1, p. 35.

20 The references to payments to the household officials are very extensive. See *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza, tesorero de Isabel la Católica*, eds Antonio de la Torre and E.A. de la Torre, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1955): vol. 1, pp. 80-81, 127-28, 181, 232, 284-85, 412-13; and vol. 2, pp. 44-45, 127, 204, 250-60, 310-11.

tives for additional tasks).²¹ Fernando's sister Juana, the widowed queen of Naples, did not encounter any opposition to Castile's conferral of more than two million *maravedís* each year for the upkeep of her retinue.²² Finally, in this constellation of almost innumerable households, Isabel always gave indications of special care in the household of Princess Margarita.²³ Numerous accounts show the queen's interest in making sure that the young noblewoman controlled her household according to her customs and with her resources, a practice that was uncommon. This surprising court expenditure should not be understood as simple squandering or generosity, but as an indicator of the queen's thinking, which included a different conception of economic management and accorded importance to the royal image. The queen's descriptions, the analysis of her own household's spending, such as large sums spent on fabrics and luxury items, and even her involvement in her family members' retinues through the giving of many gifts, are solid arguments in defense of this perspective.²⁴

The motivations for this behavior are undoubtedly complex. Her position as queen regnant made it so that certain functions – military functions, for example – tied to medieval Spanish governance could not be carried out. Isabel tried to make up for such limitations through the development of her legal and administrative functions. In addition, she did not deny herself participation in some of her husband's military expeditions, nor did she refrain from accompanying him in the Granada War (1482-92).²⁵ Without elaborating on the extraordinary development of other facets of queenship (such as maternity and religious devotion), what interests us now above all is the administrative facet and the unfolding of a court society that not only reinforced her sovereignty, but also connected her with her father's idealized government – a source of legitimacy for the queen's rule, opposed to her half-brother, Enrique. We should incorporate the effects that the development of this apparatus

21 From 1495, this salary was never less than 250,000 *maravedís* per month. For the evolution of these fees, see de la Torre and de la Torre, eds, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2: pp. 28, 65, 238, 263, 340, 378, 412, 439, 454, 509, 571, 609, 649.

22 Rosana de Andrés Díaz, *El último decenio del reinado de Isabel I a través de las cuentas de Alonso de Morales (1495-1504)* (Valladolid, 2004), p. 874.

23 Jerónimo Zurita, *De las empresas y ligas de Italia* (1580), ed. José Javier, online edition, <<http://ifc.dpz.es/publicaciones/ver/id/2423>>, vol. 3, p. 5.

24 Miguel Ángel Zalama Rodríguez, "Oro, perlas, brocados: La ostentación en el vestir en la corte de los Reyes Católicos," *Revista de estudios colombinos* 8 (2012): 13-22.

25 Rafael G. Peinado Santaella, "Ferrandi Martia Coniunx: Isabel la Católica y la Guerra de Granada," in eds Juan Luis Castellano and Miguel Luis López Guadalupe Muñoz, *Homenaje a Don Antonio Domínguez Ortiz*, 3 vols. (Granada, 2008), vol. 1, pp. 709-20.

brought about for members of her family into this analysis. In a wider conceptual frame, maternity and the economics of the royal administration are, without doubt, fundamental. To this we should also add the notion of the dynastic state of Aragón and, also of extreme interest, the propagandistic weight of the Portuguese sovereigns' familial unity, especially for the renowned generation of King Juan I.²⁶ Perhaps influenced by this practice, or by her previous position as queen, Isabel fomented the same propaganda during her reign, both for her relationships with her husband and – at least while it was possible, keeping in mind the evolution of princess Juana's personality – with her children.²⁷ Beyond their personal feelings, the (supposed) perfect harmony between the governing husband and wife turned out to be of essential importance for their political stability. With regards to the court, this idea was translated through an expression that was practically exclusive to Castile: “servidor del rey y de la reina” (servant of the king and of the queen). This expression has caused headaches for many historians; given the number of retinues supported by the Castilian treasury, Fernando's in particular seemed to be the most difficult to identify. To understand this situation, we should return to the three factors identified above: gender, the excess of Castilian retinues, and the necessity for unity between husband and wife as they faced internal disputes among parties that had supported Castile in the past.

In effect, Fernando did not have a particular household for Castile. What makes Fernando's case different to that of previous kings in the Iberian Peninsula and that of the other king consorts? It is quite possible that it was not a change in the conception of the royal household per se, but rather a change in magnitude, the repercussions of which would end up bringing about a new articulation of that concept. The decision, dating to 1475, not to create a household that belonged uniquely to the king follows to a certain point the parameters that we have seen so far. Strictly speaking, it is not possible to compare the figure of Fernando to that of his father. At the time of his wedding, Juan de Trastámara was a great noble and his intervention in the Navarrese kingdom was not questioned, but in 1475 Fernando had to conform to much stricter conditions of access to rulership. At that moment, the creation of a household for Fernando was not even considered. As was the case with queen consorts, he was only granted the opportunity to contribute some of his

26 Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, “De la separación a la reunión dinástica: la Corona de Aragón entre 1504 y 1516,” in ed. José Martínez Millán, *La corte de Carlos V* (Madrid, 2000), pp. 73-101, esp. pp. 73-79.

27 The political dispute about Juana between Queen Isabel I and Felipe I is not the main thread of the thesis of this essay. See Bethany Aram, *La reina Juana: gobierno piedad y dinastía* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 123-162.

income to his own household. Facing this limitation of his powers, Fernando threatened to leave the realm. In turn, Isabel's party permitted the creation of the dynamic that would prevail from that point forward: Fernando was granted a status similar to that of his father in Navarre, through which he obtained sufficient capacities to intervene in Castile. The new king thus marked the start of the mechanism under which Castile began to finance households that remained outside royal authority, but with one major difference. Only the king had an external household with the capacity to influence the Castilian royal family. I argue that Castile's lack of distinction between household and court implied the beginning of the depersonalization of the royal households. This process had already begun with the Trastámara dynasty (if not before), but the unique circumstances experienced by the Catholic Monarchs permitted a new impulse.²⁸ The necessity to build a strong government that harmonized the powers of its two representatives encouraged the devising of a neutral point, even if it was only theoretical: the court.

Throughout this process, the muddying of the Castilian court's divisions (it did not retain its own orders and the sovereign could arrange services at will) and its bureaucratization generally characterize its evolution. For example, the development of the Royal Councils during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs advanced the same tendencies. The councils were concerned with issues in the kingdom, but did not belong to either the king or the queen. The inclusion of erudite members made it so that the nobility could not conceive of governance as being part of its patrimony. At the opposite end, the most personal of the monarchs' offices, the chamber and the chapel, seem to have remained on the margins of this development.²⁹ The monarchs' separate royal ceremony (and lives), as well as the eminently feminine character of the queen's royal chamber (*la Cámara*) facilitated this division. Moreover, as a product of the influence that the queen's royal chamber had in political developments, a separate organism was created in the form of a reduced council, known as the *Cámara*

28 José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder Real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)* (Madrid, 1988) pp. 35-48.

29 The argument that a unique chapel was shared by the queen and king cannot be defended today, any more than they would take part together in extraordinary events. The best study of musicians at the court of Fernando II of Aragón is by Tess Knighton, *Música y músicos en la corte de Fernando el Católico, 1474-1516* (Zaragoza, 2001). This is an example of the collaboration between both king and queen (although more concerned with observing the role of the king and queen). For a mixing of the courts, for Toledo in 1502, see Bernardo José García García and Juan José Carreras Ares, eds., *La capilla real de los Austrias: música y ritual de corte en la Europa moderna* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 127-50.

de Castilla.³⁰ In this way, the small number of appointments made by Fernando that are found in Castilian registers – usually for artisanal professions such as tailors, shirt makers, and jewelers – were not related to the Royal Council and therefore lacked striking political importance. This specialization, which limited the extent to which any office could gain power, is highly significant considering the evolution of the royal family of Castile during the Habsburg period, which also tended to place an increased significance on hunting as well as religious concerns.

Regarding the politicized department of the household in the Aragonese sense, whose boundaries are more confusingly defined in Castile, the sources do not reveal with great detail the point to which Fernando employed (or had to accept) Castilian officials in service in his household. Such cases must have been exceptional because Fernando was always seen accompanied by Aragonese servants and daily rituals and meals remained separate. However, the remarkable presence of Castilian officials stands out at certain exceptional moments, which also provided occasions for greater praise for the monarchy. Prince Juan's wedding ceremony is one example of such a case. We also see this participation in several more important celebrations during the Granada War when the images produced by royal ceremony as a rhetorical piece of the Catholic Monarchs' propaganda and the dynamic of the royal chancery would receive further justification from their development on Castilian soil.³¹ However, the sources are not sufficiently descriptive of the use of ritual in Castile, nor does the state of research on this matter allow us to piece together an image of its real, day-to-day use.

In any case, the political necessities of Castile as well as Fernando's position in the realm encouraged this development and paved the way for the reframing of the notion of the *king's* household to that of the *kingdom's* household, in which both monarchs shared spaces, persons, and symbols. The flexibility in the royal etiquette and composition of all of the retinues, including the king's, made it so that only Queen Isabel's household could be identified as Castilian (despite the fact that her son, Juan, had a small Aragonese entourage). However, the ambiguity and the bureaucratization of the court, as well as the government, also made it so the court could not be considered to be only the queen's. This notion, and the necessity for the sovereign to be accompanied not only by the councils, but also by the Royal Household, was especially evident during Fernando's regency. Even if it is an incomplete case, during his second regency

30 Salustiano de Dios, *Gracia, merced y patronazgo real. La Cámara de Castilla entre 1474 y 1530* (Madrid, 1993).

31 Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. A. Paz y Melia (Madrid, 1975), p. 237.

Fernando found it necessary to be accompanied by Queen Juana's household as a means of justifying his political leadership in Castile.³² It was impossible to reestablish the justification of familial love from the previous period, but this gesture indicates the point to which the situation had changed since the kingdom's formation.

One factor in this process remains to be examined: the significance of personal ties. In dealings with this courtly inclination, it is very important to take into account the power of the political parties, which was visible for everyone, even if at a lower level. We will dedicate the remaining pages to its analysis.

The Political Foundations of a Regime: Fernando's Party

Given the ambiguous terms of Fernando's position relative to Castile, it is very probable that his real power in the royal household resided more in the people who accompanied him than in his institutional capacity. His ascension to the Castilian throne itself could be seen as one of the final throes of Juan II's Aragonese party. In addition, despite the theoretical institutional accord between Isabel and Fernando, in reality, the harmony between the two was not absolute. Fernando's success was grounded in channeling two opposed political parties towards a system of coexistence through the exemplary partnership of the two spouses. This, however, did not indicate that the parties had disappeared.

Nor is it easy to identify Fernando's party. It even appears that on some occasions part of what made the king attractive was his position as the alternative to the prevailing option. However, if we were to attempt to draw more coherent lines, the best source of information for Fernando's supporters (*los fernandinos*) are the writings of Alonso de Palencia, though this does not mean that they are free from criticism. One of the first topics of his writing is his interest in public support. Both Jaime Vicens Vives' analysis of Juan II and Andrés Giménez Soler's of King Fernando agree on this point.³³ At first, when he still had confidence in the monarchy, the humanist Palencia emphasized Fernando's interest in the Castilian *Hermandades*, municipal brotherhoods organized for defense, and their role in the war against Portugal. Above all, he constantly highlighted his dislike of the nobles. It is difficult to speak with nuance about the point to which Fernando did not want, or was not able, to gain the favor of

32 José Martínez Millán, "Corte y Casas Reales en la Monarquía hispánica: La imposición de la Casa de Borgoña," *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna* 20 (2011): 13-42, esp. p. 16.

33 Jaime Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1953), pp. 28-29; and Andrés Giménez Soler, *Fernando el Católico* (Barcelona, 1941), pp. 30-54.

Castilian nobles. However, I argue that it is a significant factor that characterizes his retinue and his reign. The great nobles (but not only them) who had supported Enrique IV and Juan II de Aragón now looked with mistrust at an inheritor of a dispersed patrimony; but a patrimony that they did not plan to renounce under any circumstance. However, the Admiral and Archbishop Carrillo (and his cousins, the Pachecos), who had been the young Fernando's firmest supporters at the beginning, dropped their support. The first one was more pragmatic and he strengthened his connection with the queen. The latter abandoned both monarchs to support the king of Portugal in his attempts to reclaim the throne. Though, of course, the king was not alone and the characteristic division among Castilian nobles proved to produce great advantages. One such benefit is found in the first instance of collaboration between the Duke of Haro and Constable of Castile. Their collaboration would become so close that Juana, one of Fernando's illegitimate daughters, would marry into that family. A similar example of this is found in Andalusia, in Luis Portocarrero, the marquis of Cadiz, or Lord of Palma. As time passed, the Duke of Alba also became a great supporter of Fernando's party; and other prominent figures, such as the Fonseca family, defended Fernando's kingship when Felipe I arrived in Castile. However, the nobles' enduring antipathy for the Aragonese king intensified after the arrival in 1506 of Felipe I, Archduke of Burgundy and the first of the Habsburgs to come to the Iberian Peninsula.

Another aspect that has been used to characterize Fernando's party is his rigorist policy toward the *conversos*, Jews who had converted to Christianity.³⁴ Fernando would find himself up against Isabel and her supporters, who were less inclined to intervene in the religious conflict. The principal proponent of this stance was the queen's confessor, Hernando de Talavera. However, Talavera's distance from the Court in 1492 did not diminish the importance of his opposition to Fernando's rigorist position, as Felipe I's political environment and actions show. In another light, Fernando's ideas could also be characterized for their diversion from his wife's policies on external affairs. In this line of thought, he could be considered to be more interested in European policies against France than in the reconquest of Spain and the fighting in North Africa.³⁵

34 Rivero Rodríguez, "De la separación a la reunión dinástica," p. 89.

35 The moment when this division is seen most clearly is in 1488, the moment before the tension over the French-Navarrese frontier would lead to Queen Isabel's rejection of postponing the war against Granada. This is known as the "patience" of Fernando toward the war against Granada that Pierre Boissonnade emphasized in his *Histoire de la réunion de la Navarre à la Castille* (Paris, 1893).

However, its evolution, that is its behavior as a human group, is of more importance than its ideological characterization. Here, we can understand its effects in the composition of the king's household in Aragón and its influence in Castile, the principal objective of this essay. If we return again to Palencia's writings, we observe that change is one of the party's characteristics. We are talking about almost forty years of Fernando's influence in Castile. It therefore seems logical to talk about changes. These changes occurred very rapidly, however, as Fernando quickly understood that his inheritance from his father was invalidated by his marriage with Isabel.³⁶ The clearest example comes from the nobility, and more concretely from Archbishop Carrillo. The war against Portugal (and the necessity to unite efforts against an external enemy) was another critical factor which influenced how and when new judgments came into play. It is clearly a moment at which Fernando's party was influenced by Isabel's. Furthermore, Fernando's political importance, which was intimately tied to his economic resources, varied considerably over time. This made it so that his party wavered between positions of greater or lesser degrees of robustness, homogeneity, and influence. As other scholars have asserted, the rivalry between the two parties, although it was always present, climbed to a tipping point during the decade of the 1490s,³⁷ at which point the influence of Fernando's party clearly began to ascend. Without taking too much time to discuss the causes, we should take a moment to acknowledge both the internal factors, namely Fernando's ascent after the Granada War, and the external factors such as the queen's isolation after the deaths of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza in 1495 and Prince Juan in 1497.

This change in the power dynamic had numerous implications. For example, taking advantage of his party's development of new resources for government power (*Hermandades*, military, finances, and diplomacy), Fernando would use to his favor the confusion that resulted from the ambiguity of the royal household. He began to intervene progressively at multiple levels. It is clear, for example, that he participated in the activities and appointments of the councils. The influence that Fernando's party was able to exercise in the royal household and in his wife's Castilian retinue is of even greater interest. It is true that the queen's autonomy with respect to her personal space leaves no room for doubt. Her superior sovereignty is seen not only in her control over the

36 In the words of Palencia, Juan II himself doubted the important political changes of his son. See Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica*, p. 293. Although it is possible to interpret this reference by the chronicler as a way of justifying Juan's attitude, the inequalities between Juan and Fernando were evident, even more so in Navarre.

37 Rivero Rodríguez, "De la separación a la reunión dinástica," p. 88.

development of her own retinue, but also in that of some of her descendants, such as those of her son, Prince Juan, and her grandson, *infante* Fernando. Yet, as Fernando's power increased, individuals associated with his party began appearing in the queen's household. This was the case, for example, with the wives of the king's stewards – Maria de Luna, the wife of Enrique Enríquez, and Francisca Enríquez, the daughter of the Marquis of Denia. Magarita de Lemos, the wife of Sancho de Rojas (the king's steward), also began to take a place among the queen's ladies-in-waiting who included other notable ladies such as Catalina Pimentel, the daughter of the viceroy of Sicily; Inés de Híjar, the daughter of Juana de Híjar; and Marina de Aragón, the daughter of the Duke of Villahermosa.³⁸ However, the most interesting is without doubt Violante de Albión, who served as the queen's Master of the Privy, administering her most personal belongings and enjoying a position of enviable intimacy with the queen. Furthermore, Violante was the sister of one of Fernando's principal collaborators in France, the head of diplomacy and military matters along the border with Roussillon. Her presence in the queen's retinue implies a clear recognition of the queen's opposition to France – traditionally allied with Castile, and one of the most evident points of conflict within the royal family. Violante was accompanied in the queen's retinue by a niece, García (the wife of Fernando's influential secretary, Miguel Pérez de Almazán), who formed part of the queen's royal chamber, as well by a nephew who served as a page in the queen's household. Further still, though it may appear anecdotal, as we witness the ascent of Fernando's party, we observe the increasingly frequent recourse to Fernando's officials for daily chores such as the purchase of mules and fabrics, and the distribution of alms at the service of the queen. Of course, if we analyze the documentation most pertinent to political aspects, for example, Alonso de Morales' treasury,³⁹ we see that the development is similar in that Fernando's supporters also enjoyed a high level of involvement.

All of this influence in the queen's retinue and the progressive control of different governmental organisms was neither unrecognized nor well received by the rest of the Castilian party, which appeared to wane in the years of their queen's withdrawal until her death in 1504. Both the brief reign of Felipe I, and especially the reactions to Fernando's death and the arrival to the throne of

38 These details have been examined by María del Cristo González Marrero, "Las mujeres de la Casa de Isabel la Católica," in eds José Martínez Millán and María Paula Marçal Lourenço, *Las relaciones discretas entre las Monarquías Hispana y Portuguesa: Las Casas de las Reinas (Siglos IV-XIX)*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2008), vol 2, pp. 841-86.

39 Among many references, see for example, Andrés Díaz, *El último decenio*, pp. 826, 830, 833, 855, 858, 862, and 873.

Felipe's son, Carlos I (the Emperor Carlos V) are evidence that, even if the Catholic King discovered how to attract new support and influence his opponents' tenacity, he never fully eliminated their directives in the government of Iberian realms. His authority and undeniable political mastery in the configuration of the court systems, in particular the growth of the retinues during Fernando II's second regency after the death of Isabel (1504-16), managed to delay a new conflict brewing in the Castilian political scene. A line of research that we should continue to investigate is whether this argument influenced later events such as the Revolt of the Comuneros.

Conclusions

How should we evaluate the role of Fernando the Catholic's court in Castile? Adapting the known and inherited practices to the political necessities of the moment produced a qualitative leap that successfully resulted in a joint government for practically thirty years. Along with the importance of the queen consorts' households, the role of the male consorts' houses should also be evaluated. It is of considerable interest to consider the consort's response in terms of gender, at least as far as it concerns the configuration of court retinues. These responses are varied and mutually enriching. By maintaining their households with external origins, they strengthened the notion of a single household for the territory while also reinforcing the independence of the consort. The representation of the realms had begun with the ritualization of courtly life and barely created a conscious perception of a place of one's own. Queen Isabel's role was also crucial in this respect; the abundance of courts that developed around her point to constructive perspectives regarding the networks of power that emanated from her and that would endure well into the Modern Era.

The conjugal love, theoretical or real, that Blanca and Isabel had for Juan de Trastámara and Fernando of Aragón allowed their consorts to enjoy great prerogative in their new realms. However, it did not permit them to exercise their role as family head or to control the households of the queens, now understood as households of the realm. This influence, if it did exist, was informal, dependent on the politics of the moment, and, if it did in fact generate a greater sense of political unity, it was never in a way that was institutional or irreversible. In this way, the domestic government model's dysfunction, in which the man governed the household, found the language of alliance to be the best tool for renovation. Let us not forget that it is precisely in this territory that the queens operated as the able heads of political parties – at times for and at times against their husbands.

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Rocking the Cradle and Ruling the World: Queens' Households in Late Medieval and Early Modern Aragon and France

Zita Rohr

Talking the Talk

Anne of France's *Enseignements à ma fille*, addressed to her daughter Suzanne, hereditary duchess of Bourbon, represents the culmination and articulation of her female political experience, and the agency and experience of her maternal and paternal dynasties in Aragon and France.¹ Anne penned her *Enseignements* for Suzanne on the eve of her betrothal to her cousin, Charles of Bourbon, count of Montpensier. Anne's political and diplomatic activities emerged from what many in the past have dismissed as domestic spaces. However, this overlooks the fact that the late medieval and early modern domestic households of royal and elite women were intimately interconnected with monarchical politics.² From within their domestic households, powerful women learned, deployed, and subverted the rules of their coeval political systems to shepherd their kingdoms, dynasties and subjects, often besting their male rivals.³

1 Anne de France, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Suzanne de Bourbon* (Lyon, c.1521); *Les enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon*, ed. Martial-Alphone Chazaud (Moulins, 1878; Marseille, 1978); eds Tatania Clavier and Eliane Viennot, *Anne de France: Enseignements à sa fille suivis de l'Histoire du siège de Brest* (Saint-Etienne, 2006), henceforth, *Enseignements*; and *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, ed. and trans. Sharon L. Jansen (Woodbridge, 2004), henceforth *Lessons*.

2 Zita Rohr, "Playing the Catalan: The Rise of the Chess-Queen; Queenship and Political Motherhood in Late Medieval Aragon and France," in eds Carey Fleiner and Elena Woodacre, *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (New York, 2016), pp. 173-97.

3 Clavier and Viennot, eds, *Enseignements*, pp. 92-93; Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 68; Tatiana Clavier, "Les Enseignements d'Anne de France et l'héritage de Christine de Pizan," in ed. Isabelle Brouard-Arends, *Lectrices d'ancien régime* (Rennes, 2003), pp. 23-31, 29-30.

By way of Anne's distinctly female understanding of prudential politics, her *Enseignements* reveals the potential of female households to become domestic "republics" of power and influence. These republics stretched across finite and distinct borders, losing little and finding much in translation. They were spaces molded by location, circumstance, personality and ability, personal and institutional connections, networking, diplomacy, and exchange. Focusing upon the matrilineal dynasty of Anne of France provides us with a methodological template for research into the nature of elite female households in a wider geopolitical context. Conceptualizing these households as entities with their own histories will advance our understanding of how gendered power was attained and manipulated from a locus that has been dismissed historically as the merely domestic. This approach will produce the first major historical analysis of how a female-authored book of prudential understanding of politics anchored itself, consciously or unconsciously, to the lived political experience and the legacy of a cohort of stateswomen across six generations. Anne herself cautioned Suzanne to avoid foolish presumption and "never underestimate or discredit your ancestors, from whom you are descended, because that would be against [God], right and reason."⁴

Encouragingly, there has been a marked shift in early modern political history away from the study of formal institutions and officials and towards informal political spheres. Modern political systems have all been produced within an informal political arena alongside government. It has already been shown that women acted as conduits and bonds linking male-office bearers and rulers in the pre-modern era.⁵ My research argues that pre-modern elite and royal women were no mere horizontal conduits of support and influence for the benefit of their male relatives and spouses – they were political actors in their own right. Such women were concerned not with food, drink and untargeted hospitality, but rather with ideas, subtle diplomacy, and public action. A successful pre-modern elite female household was consciously curated by its "alpha" woman to enhance her reputation, her influence, and her political effectiveness. However, an elite woman's reputation – at constant risk of rumor, gossip and innuendo – could be used against her.⁶ Notwithstanding

4 *Enseignements*, p. 58. All translations mine unless otherwise noted.

5 Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice. Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007); and Stanley Chojnacki, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore, 2000).

6 Zita Rohr, "True Lies and Strange Mirrors: The Uses and Abuses of Rumor, Propaganda and Innuendo during the Closing Stages of the Hundred Years' War," in eds Zita Rohr and Lisa Benz, *Queenship, Reputation and Gendered Power in the Medieval and Early Modern West* (New York, 2016), pp. 87-108; Laurent Hablot, "Rumeurs, emblems et guerre civile en

this, astute political women frequently had a say in ways that they might not have been able to achieve in a pre-modern republic.

Read hastily, Anne of France's *Enseignements* is "tout à fait déroutant" ("wholly disconcerting").⁷ We should not readily accept, however, that it is a conventional mirror for a princess, because this book, "so full of tact, sweetness and humility," cannot be reconciled easily with Anne's undoubted power and influence.⁸ The *Enseignements* appears to dictate a series of rigorous recommendations designed to fashion Suzanne into a pious and obedient wife. Reading it against the grain, however, reveals that Anne does not want her daughter to become a submissive, pious "little" woman, but instead a higher genus of her gender: a princess of spotless reputation, conscious of her antecedents, impervious to slander and gossip, engaged and confident of her self-worth, politically relevant, and a strategic flatterer and dispenser of largesse. Anne grooms Suzanne to be an actor in circles of power and influence. Anne instills the idea in Suzanne that irreproachable conduct and an unassailable reputation are tools of power and influence.⁹ Anne instructs Suzanne on the correct organization and maintenance of a powerful and politically effective royal woman's household. She urges her daughter to protect herself from the intrigues and vicissitudes of the woman who heads it, those who populate it, and those who will eventually serve her in her own household.¹⁰ Anne had a double purpose here: both to teach Suzanne the correct conduct in a powerful woman's household, and to demonstrate how a princess's impeccable household provides her with a gendered template for the acquisition and maintenance of public authority and power.¹¹

France à la fin du Moyen Âge," in eds Maïté Billoré and Myriam Soria, *La Rumeur au Moyen Âge: Du mépris à la manipulation (Ve-xv siècle)* (Rennes, 2011), pp. 213-22; and Elizabeth Casteen, *From She-Wolf to Martyr: The Reign and Disputed Reputation of Johanna I of Naples* (Ithaca, 2015), pp. 14-23.

7 Eliane Viennot, "Anne de France (1461-1522), dame de Beaujeu, duchesse de Bourbon, régente de France: un cas d'école pour la recherche sur les femmes et le pouvoir," *Cahiers du CELEC 3: Reines, princesses, favorites: Quelle autorité decline au féminin?*, np, 2012; <http://cahiersducelec.univ-st-etienne.fr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=26%3Acahiers-du-celec-nd-3&Itemid=2>, accessed 8 September 2016.

8 Viennot, "un cas d'école," Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Ludovic Lalanne, 11 vols (Paris, 1864-82, 1875), vol. 8, pp. 99-105.

9 Viennot, "un cas d'école," Joseph Viple, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon* (Moulins, 1935), p. 24; and Laura Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, ed. and trans. Diana Robin (Chicago, 1997), pp. 63-86, 114-179.

10 *Enseignements*, pp. 43-46, 48-49, 71-73, 74-79, 80-84.

11 See below, Castiglione's notion of *acutezza recondita* (hidden subtlety, veiled policy).

At the core of Anne's *Enseignements* is a detailed description of how Suzanne should galvanize a trusted and trustworthy circle of aristocratic women around her. Anne stresses that they must be tutored and husbanded to second her, and be deployed strategically by her to attract and retain loyal magnates to the party of their ruling partnership.¹² Such organizational skill demanded cultural acuity and social ingenuity as well as the measured deployment of "practical morality and the politics of visibility,"¹³ a concrete example of Christine de Pizan's notion of "*juste ypocrisie*":

Si disons de rechief que ceste maniere de juste ypocrisie est comme necessaire a princes et a princepses qui ont a dominer aultruy.¹⁴ [We repeat that this kind of just hypocrisy is almost always necessary, especially to princes and princesses who must rule over (dominate) others.]¹⁵

Despite Christine's ideas regarding "*juste ypocrisie*" and Anne of France's subtle re-fashioning of her concept, feminist scholars remain divided upon, and perplexed by, what Anne intended with her *Enseignements*, and why Suzanne was moved to publish it some two decades after it was written. It seems likely that its publication around 1520-1 had a political rather than an educative trigger. It was a calculated reminder of Anne's durable political influence as "king" and teacher, and was conceived to redress the damaged prestige of the house of Bourbon and its embattled duke *jure uxoris*.¹⁶ In 1535, the *Enseignements* was published again – with a clear educative intent – by Marguerite of Navarre, sister of François I.¹⁷ François's consort, Claude (daughter of Louis XII, d.1515)

12 *Enseignements*, pp. 80-84; Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, pp. 59-61.

13 Rosalind Brown-Grant, *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women: Reading Beyond Gender* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 193-206.

14 Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus*, eds and trans. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris, 1989), pp. 67-68, 72; my emphasis.

15 My modification; the original uses "dominer" rather than "gouverner" and I believe that this is intentional. English trans. Sharon C. Mitchell, "Moral Posturing: Virtue in Christine de Pisan's *Livre des trois vertus*," in eds Jeff Rider and Jamie Friedman, *The Inner Life of Women in Medieval Romance Literature: Grief, Guilt and Hypocrisy* (New York, 2011), pp. 85-106, 91.

16 Suzanne's husband, Charles III, Duke of Bourbon and constable of France, had fallen out of favor with his king, François I.

17 Marguerite married Charles IV of Alençon (d. 1525); the marriage was childless. She married Henry II of Navarre in 1526. Samuel Putnam, *Marguerite of Navarre* (New York, 1935), pp. 66, 73; and Barbara Stephenson, *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite of Navarre* (Aldershot, 2004).

built upon the “schools for ladies” templates of her second cousin, Anne of France, and her mother, Anne of Brittany.¹⁸ The reform-minded Marguerite reinvigorated awareness of Anne’s principles, applying them to her court and household, advocating them and clarifying them – especially to the ladies charged with the care of her daughter, Jeanne d’Albret (b. 1528).¹⁹

The links embedded within (and reaching beyond) royal households were close. Louise de Daillon du Lude, grandmother of chronicler Pierre de Bourdeille, lord of Brantôme, spent time close to Anne at Louis XI’s (d. 1483) court. Louise’s mother, Marie de Laval (the second wife of Jean de Daillon, sire of Lude) had corresponded with Anne’s father, Louis XI who addressed her affectionately in his letters to her as “ma mie” (“my good friend”).²⁰ Louise de Daillon was appointed Marguerite of Navarre’s *Première dame d’honneur*, the highest-ranking woman in her household, upon the death of her governess, lady-in-waiting and confidant, Louise de Montmorency, Madame de Châtillon. Anne’s *Enseignements* had been Madame de Châtillon’s own guidebook and she used it likewise to fashion the adolescent Marguerite.²¹ Louise de Daillon’s daughters, Anne and Jeanne de Vivonne, entered Marguerite’s household as ladies-in-waiting, serving Jeanne d’Albret when Queen Marguerite died in 1549. Brantôme was raised in the royal household and court of Navarre, remaining there until the death of Queen Marguerite when he moved to Paris to complete his studies.²² His grandmother had provided him with considerable inside information concerning both Louis XI and Anne of France. One of his central passions, apart from soldiering and recounting military campaigns, was his palpable admiration for women “on top”. While some dismiss his writings as lightweight, others, such as Grégory Champeaud, make the point that his

18 Tracy Adams, “Anne Boleyn: Seductress or Scholar,” in eds Christine Adams and Tracy Adams, *Female Beauty Systems: Beauty as Social Capital in Western Europe and the United States, Middle Ages to the Present* (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 2015), pp. 48-76, 54-5, 58-9.

19 Viennot, “un cas d’école.” On the mentality, spirituality, and educative intent of Marguerite of Angoulême’s household and court, consult Adams, “Anne Boleyn,” pp. 55-6, 58, 62, 63.

20 Louis XI, Henri Dubois (ed.), *Louis XI. Lettres choisies* (Paris, 1996), pp. 444-445.

21 Rouben C. Cholakien, *Marguerite de Navarre: The Mother of the Renaissance* (New York and Chichester, 2006), pp. 17-18, 248. Madame Châtillon was a very young governess to Marguerite; they were very near contemporaries with only about three years separating their birthdates. Cédric Michon, “Quand l’Eglise fait l’Etat,” *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de France* (2005): 127-47, esp. p. 140 n. 21.

22 See also Tracy Adams, “Gender, Reputation, and Female Rule in the World of Brantôme,” in eds Zita Eva Rohr and Lisa Benz, *Queenship, Gender and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060-1600* (Cham, Switzerland, 2016), 29-50.

oeuvre provides us with the keys to understanding the aristocratic mentality of the sixteenth century and the worlds in which such people moved.²³

Brantôme saw much to admire in Anne of France, a woman who governed “So wisely and virtuously that she was one of the great kings of France.” Brantôme based his portrait of Anne on hearsay and gossip,²⁴ which had trickled out from the porous confines of a series of female domestic households whose inhabitants were well placed to scrutinize outward behaviors and make ready judgments regarding the “inner” Anne whom they had served or observed during their earlier years. Anne too had observed and absorbed much from time served in the household and at the court of her father. She joined Louis XI when she was about twelve, on the eve of her betrothal to Louis’s loyal and capable familiar, Pierre de Beaujeu. Louis summoned his most able child to his side to demonstrate to her firsthand how to govern the kingdom and manage its subjects. Despite his admiration for her, Brantôme describes the character traits Anne shared with her father, Louis XI:

She was a proud woman, and sharp, if ever there was one, and a true image in all things of King Louis, her father. She was very vindictive, and in that in the temper of the king, her father, in all things; for she was proud, “trinquante” [toilsome and unbending], corrupt, full of dissimulation, and a great hypocrite, who, for her ambition, masked and disguised herself in all ways.²⁵

Despite this, Brantôme assures us that she was “very pious and quite good,” stating that “this is what I hold from my grandmother.” His grandmother knew this because she was the Louise de Daillon du Lude mentioned above. Before passing into the service of Marguerite of Navarre, Louise had been lady-in-waiting to Anne’s sister-in-law, Anne of Brittany, from the time of her coronation in 1492, to 1502. Her good government and piety notwithstanding, Anne of France might not have always managed to govern wisely “without getting a bad

23 Grégory Champeaud, “Pierre de Bourdeille, dit Brantôme,” <<http://www.archivesde-france.culture.gouv.fr/action-culturelle/celebrations-nationales/recueil-2014/litterature-et-sciences-humaines/brantome>>. Accessed September 8, 2016.

24 See Adams, “Gender, Reputation, and Female Rule,” pp. 62, 65–66, 68, 80.

25 Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, *Œuvres complètes du seigneur de Brantôme 5: Dames illustres françaises et étrangères*, ed. Louis Jean Nicolas Monmerqué, 7 vols (Paris, 1823), pp. 205–206. For an English version, see Christopher Hare, *The High and Puissant Princess, Marguerite of Austria* (London and New York, 1907), p. 31.

name for herself";²⁶ the received negative opinion circulated by some concerning her character, personality and reputation was perhaps put about by the ladies of Queen Anne of Brittany's household, some of whom had been raised with Anne of France and who were therefore ideally placed to fashion gossip and shape opinion about their mistress's sometime political rival. Cottrell suggests that Brantôme's writing reflects the "prejudices and biases, the forms and the features of life at the Valois courts," his "vray Paradis du monde" ("true earthly paradise").²⁷ Blazejewska, who explores women, court culture and the arts in the writings of Brantôme, claims that his work offers us a "glimpse of the more disturbing aspect of power struggles, hypocrisies, and male supremacy" at the Valois courts.²⁸ I would argue that this was not merely confined to "male" supremacy; contemporary sources point to the fact that there was likewise a ready supply of power struggles, hypocrisies, and *female* supremacy on offer at the Valois courts. The historical record shows that Anne discharged her responsibilities as regent conscientiously, governing the kingdom wisely and well, but was concerned always with the need to "keep up appearances."²⁹ She was not naively virtuous; she was imperious with all estates of society, never forgetting (or allowing anyone to forget) that she was the daughter of the king and his chosen regent, even as she was pious and bountiful towards those whom she took in hand and who demonstrated unfailing loyalty to her. Anne's household was sumptuous and magnificent, enriched by her status, which she exploited to maximize and render durable her power and influence.³⁰

26 Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 64; "gouvernez-vous y sagement, sans y acquérir mauvaise renommée," *Enseignements*, p. 87.

27 Brantôme, *Œuvres*, pp. 5, 65. Robert D. Cottrell, *Brantôme, The Writer as Portraitist of His Age* (Geneva, 1970), p. 10.

28 Katarzyna Blazejewska, "La Femme, la cour et les arts chez Brantôme," PhD dissertation, University of Strasbourg, 2012.

29 See Jean-François Lassalmonie, "Anne de France, duchess de Beaujeu: Un modèle féminine d'exercice du pouvoir dans la France de la fin du Moyen-Âge," in eds Éric Bousmar, Jonathan Dumont, Alain Marchandisse and Bertrand Schnerb, *Femmes de pouvoir, femmes politiques durant les derniers siècles du Moyen-Âge et au cours de la première Renaissance* (Bruxelles, 2012), pp. 129-148, esp. pp. 133, 146.

30 Brantôme, *Œuvres*, 5, p. 211. For modern studies concerning the court and household of Anne of France, see two essays in ed. Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, *Patronnes et mécènes en France à la Renaissance* (Saint-Etienne, 2007): Elizabeth L'Estrange, "Saint Anne et le mécénat d'Anne de France," pp. 135-54; and Elodie Lequain, "Anne de France et les livres: la tradition et le pouvoir," pp. 155-68. See also Suzanne d'Heedene Baron, "Le Mécénat d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbon ou la vie artistique à la cour de Moulins," PhD dissertation, Paris-Sorbonne IV, 1992.

Once Anne had retired from daily involvement at court, she devoted her energies to her “*escolle de vertu et de perfection*” (“school of virtue and perfection”),³¹ educating a generation of intelligent, powerful and astute young women – rocking the cradle of the next generation of young royals and nobles who would rule their respective worlds. Anne inverted, and perhaps subverted, the role of cradle-rocker, traditionally employed to calm an infant to sleepiness. Instead of soothing her charges to submissive sleep, Anne fashioned and transformed her court and household in Moulins, creating a space of peerless learning, political and diplomatic instruction, and artistic and cultural refinement. Brantôme confirms that “There were no ladies or girls of any great house of the time, who had not learnt their lessons from her, the house of Bourbon being one of the greatest and most splendid in all of Christendom.”³² Anne’s young protégées were instructed in Latin and Greek, pious courtly behavior and subtle politics, diplomatic strategy, and the virtue of strength of character, honor and wisdom. It was a powerful intellectual nursery that schooled and influenced young, high-born women and female relatives such as Margaret of Austria, Anne of Brittany, Diane of Poitiers, Louise of Savoy, and Philippa (Philippe) of Guelders who would form the next generation of politically active women. While the acquisition and maintenance of power was an important objective, like her patroness Saint Anne, Anne of France placed great emphasis upon the care and education of her daughter and the young women fortunate enough to be drawn into her orbit.

Many grasp, however confusedly, Machiavelli’s role in the birth of modern political theory, but not that of women such as Anne of France.³³ Machiavelli and Anne confronted many of the same political problems and produced comparable answers, albeit in distinctly gendered voices. Anne of France is perhaps more important because, while we know that men confronted and tackled these problems, we have failed to appreciate that women did so too during the same period. Both texts are highly gendered, both are the richer for it, and both

31 Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, pp. 5-6, 90; and Élodie Lequain, “La maison de Bourbon, ‘escolle de vertu et de perfection’: Anne de France, Suzanne de Bourbon et Pierre Martin,” *Médiévales* 48 (2005) <<http://medievaux.revues.org/893>>, accessed 24 August 2016.

32 Brantôme, *Œuvres*, 5, pp. 5, 210; Caroline zum Kolk, “The Household of the Queen of France in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Court Historian* 14:1 (2009): 3-22, esp. pp. 6-7; and eds Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2014).

33 Eliane Viennot has made considerable advances in redressing this dilemma for Franco-phone scholars; see <<http://www.elianeviennot.fr/>> and SIEFAR (Société Internationale pour l’étude des femmes de l’ancien régime): <<http://siefar.org/bibliographies/eliane-viennot/>>.

give voice to the prudence and pragmatism required to address their respective political realities – especially the failure of most men and women to live up to traditional Aristotelian and Christian virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude.

Anne and Machiavelli agree that “no one really knows who you are,” and that therein lies potential exploitable advantage.³⁴ While Machiavelli does not address household issues specifically, he does advise his prince to take great care when appointing servants, familiars and advisers to his staff, and on the importance of avoiding flatterers and listening to sound counsel, considerations tackled by Anne regarding the organization of a wise princess's household and court.³⁵ With her *Enseignements*, superficially at odds with her political walk, Anne eases the passage from innocence to experience, steering her twelve-year-old daughter's transition from political debutante to empowered stateswoman. Worlds apart in many ways, Anne and Machiavelli shared a profound and realistic understanding of human nature and its disappointing, yet predictable, lack of virtue. Anne was ambivalent towards women and she did not think much of men either.³⁶ Both knew never to trust in Fortune.³⁷ Both accepted that what is, is: Anne used her female nature to a purpose, and Machiavelli advised craftiness in statecraft. Both concurred that strategic cunning is essential to confuse and disorient adversaries.

According to Anne, Suzanne must appear to be a passive, feminine creature, but this is not who she must be in reality – feminine shrewdness does not equal political weakness.³⁸ In their own ways, one covertly and the other overtly, Anne and Machiavelli uncouple ideals of morality and traditional gendered virtues from the science and pragmatism of political agency and dynastic survival. However, Anne “*is* concerned with the acquisition of Christian virtue, especially feminine virtues,” and, above all, chastity.³⁹ For the astute pre-modern woman, impregnable chastity was *the* route to power. Anne's *Enseignements* is all about feminine shrewdness and the subversive

34 Anne's *Enseignements* bears striking similarities in thought and purpose to Machiavelli's later work, *Il Principe*. Jansen, “Interpretive Essay,” in *Lessons*, pp. 77–90.

35 Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 2nd ed., trans. and ed. Harvey C. Mansfield (Chicago, 1998), chs 22–23, pp. 92–95; *Enseignements*, pp. 71–84.

36 Pauline Matarasso, *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 38.

37 *Enseignements*, p. 89; Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 65; Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch. 25; and Arlene W. Saxonhouse, “Machiavelli's Women,” in ed. Timothy Fuller, *Machiavelli's Legacy: The Prince After Five Hundred Years* (Philadelphia, 2016), pp. 70–86, 72–3, 75, 78–80.

38 *Enseignements*, pp. 92–3; Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 81; and Clavier, “Les Enseignements,” p. 30.

39 Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 82. My emphasis.

deployment of gender norms. Anne's cousin, Louis of Orleans, and the other ambitious men whom she confronted, were indignant that so much power had fallen to a woman, and not to the kind of woman they might have expected, but rather one in full possession of "masculine" political ability – she was a perfect model in all things, except that she was not a man.⁴⁰ This was particularly galling for some because Anne was unofficial regent and guardian, in full control of the king and kingdom at only twenty-two years of age. Guillaume de Jaligny, secretary to the house of Beaujeu, records that "Madame was always with the king, Madame de Beaujeu, his sister, never abandoned him, and always had the care and keeping of his person, nothing concerning the king and his kingdom ever happened without her seal, her will and her consent."⁴¹ Bridge notes that she was accused of having monopolized the power, citing one letter (among several) from François II, Duke of Brittany, to the town of Sens, in which he complains that the "power over the king is held by a woman, and her adherents, who want to do everything and control everything."⁴² Matarasso observes that "in government, a Machiavellian pragmatism had guided her [Anne's] decisions."⁴³

Anne's household, both a political space (a court) and an "école" (school) of gendered political learning, was part of her great project to emulate the example of her patroness, St. Anne, educating young women and girls in her household and court, and preparing them to assume their rightful places in high politics and diplomacy.⁴⁴ By 1499-1500, Anne had retired from active

40 Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 60; and Pierre Pradel, *Anne de France 1461-1522* (Paris, 1986), pp. 45-77.

41 *Histoire de Charles VIII, Roy de France par Guillaume de Jaligny, André de la Vigne etc.*, ed. T. Godefroy (Paris, 1684), p. 23. Paraphrased in John S.C. Bridge, *The Reign of Charles VIII, The Regency of Anne of Beaujeu 1483-1493*, in *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1921), vol. 1, pp. 49-53, 50.

42 Bridge, *The Reign of Charles VIII, The Regency*, p. 50. François II, the father of Anne of Brittany who inherited his duchy, was an ally of Louis of Orleans; he joined with him in the Guerre Folle (Mad War) against France (and Anne), eventually settled by the betrothal of his heiress-designate, Anne of Brittany, to Charles VIII, brother of Anne of France.

43 Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, p. 289.

44 The Renaissance royal court, "devoted to appearances and majesty," emerged from the medieval royal household, "obsessed with economy." Susannah C. Humble Ferreira, "The Cost of Majesty: Financial Reform and the Development of the Royal Court in Portugal and England at the turn of the Sixteenth Century," in eds Lawrin, Armstrong et al. *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), pp. 210-32, on p. 211. Moreover, the royal establishment was not uniformly referred to as a court until around the 1470s with the 'court' in turn conceived of as an extension of the royal household: royal government was centred upon the royal household. Joanna Nielson, "Court, Royal,"

duty, but she was still a formidable presence in the political landscape of the king's court. France was finally unified under a powerful ruling monarchy after five generations of misery, dislocation and deprivation occasioned by the Hundred Years' War.⁴⁵ Its strength was underwritten by its formidable kings, and their able and educated queens.

Masquerading as a mother's mirror for a princess, Anne of France's *Enseignements* should be regarded as a revolutionary political text, too long absent from the canon of early modern political thought because it dovetails with a whole tradition of a broader sixteenth century praxis of prudential understandings of politics. Anne takes up Christine de Pizan's themes of virtue and *juste ypocrisie* and subtly runs with them in her *Enseignements*.⁴⁶ Suzanne is instructed to "act against all her natural inclination to be honest", but only to further the greater good of her house and her subjects.⁴⁷ Anne's *Enseignements* grew out of masculine anxiety and the residual ill-will of Louis of Orleans and other magnates of the kingdom. As a nostrum to mitigate ill-feelings occasioned by her de facto authority, power and influence, Anne crafted her *Enseignements* conventionally, and so it continues to be regarded mistakenly by some scholars today. Anne was a highly perceptive, astute, and experienced politician – she knew that her critics believed that she had risen above her gender, if not her rank. She therefore counsels discretion, dissimulation, strategic modesty and the golden mean in all things to her twelve-year-old and fatherless daughter, hereditary duchess of Bourbon.⁴⁸ A political rather than moral reading of the

in eds Ronald H. Fritz and William B. Robinson, *Historical Dictionary of Late Medieval England, 1272-1485* (Westport, 2002), pp. 134-36; and David M. Nicholas, *The Evolution of the Medieval World: Society, Government and Thought in Europe, 312-1500* (London, 2014), pp. 124, 227, 237-238, 383.

45 Monique Chatenet, "Les Enseignements d'Anne de France à sa fille Suzanne de Bourbon," in eds Thierry Crépin-Leblond and Monique Chatenet, *Anne de France. Art et pouvoir en 1500* (Paris, Picard, 2014), pp. 51-64, esp. pp. 51-2

46 Christine de Pizan, *Le livre de trois vertus*, eds Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris, 1989), p. 67; Dallas G. Denery II, "Christine de Pizan against the Theologians: The Virtue of Lies in *The Book of the Three Virtues*," *Viator* 39:1 (2008): 229-247, esp. pp. 238-41; Tracy Adams, "Appearing Virtuous: Christine de Pizan's *Le livre des trois vertus* and Anne of France's *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*," in eds Karen Green and Constant J. Mews, *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250-1500* (New York, 2011), pp. 115-32, on p. 116; and Charity Cannon Willard, "Anne de France, Reader of Christine de Pizan," in ed. Glenda McLeod, *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City* (Lewiston, 1991), pp. 59-70.

47 Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 76, *Enseignements*, p. 47.

48 Adams, "Anne Boleyn," p. 57; Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 63; and *Enseignements*, pp. 88-91. Castiglione likewise counsels the lady at court on how best to tread the fine line between

Enseignements has rarely been raised and, with a few exceptions, when it has been raised it has been dismissed.⁴⁹ Jordan and Matarasso believe that there is very little feminine assertiveness and political advice to be found in the Anne's *Enseignements*.⁵⁰ Matarasso concludes that "this woman of power who has held in her hands lines of communication running from Brest to Constantinople, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, whose fiat has moved armies and whose counsel in later years was sought by princes and their envoys, *has nothing to say to her daughter on any issues other than the domestic*."⁵¹ Matarasso might have drilled more deeply into her assertion to interrogate why this might have been so. Anne had plenty to say to Suzanne, and Matarasso ignores the fact that the domestic was of paramount importance. It was *the* foundation of a pre-modern stateswoman's powerbase. Anne was subtle, too subtle perhaps for some modern readers, particularly those who only conceive of the pre-modern political world in terms of dichotomies. Anne's *Enseignements* is a circumspect preparation for a "double life" and a durable political existence – "a guidebook on governance" – for both household and state.⁵² Like her father, Louis XI, Anne understood that to govern a household or a kingdom effectively, one needed to divide and separate one's enemies, to use whatever means necessary as long as it was used skillfully, and to be ready and willing to take back with one hand that which had been given with the other.⁵³ Notwithstanding the "discreet dissimulation" of her *Enseignements*, lessons observed from her pragmatic father, and the understated yet durable early influence of her mother and paternal grandmother, percolate the surface narrative in Anne's penultimate passage of advice to her daughter: "Always conduct yourself honorably, in a cool and contained way, with a respectful gaze, in a calm voice, be unswerving and firm to each proposal, without flinching."⁵⁴ This advice was

hypocrisy and authenticity in the third book of his *Il Cortegiano*, begun in 1508 and published just before his death in 1528. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (New York, 1901; rpt Mineola, 2003), p. 35; and W.R. Albury, *Castiglione's Allegory: Veiled Policy in The Book of the Courtier (1528)* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 43-44, 108, 114, 173, 175.

49 Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 77.

50 Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca, 1990), pp. 97-98; Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 77.

51 My emphasis. Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, p. 194; and Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 77.

52 Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 77.

53 Paul Pélicier, *Essai sur le gouvernement de la Dame de Beaujeu, 1483-1491* (Chartres, 1882; rpt Marseille, 1983), pp. 206-207.

54 Pélicier draws our attention to this, *Essai*, p. 206 n.2. Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, pp. 67-8; *Enseignements*, p. 92.

apposite for relations in a variety of political contexts from the “domestic” of the household to the “public” theatres of court and state activity. While Anne’s advice to Suzanne was well founded for anyone required to manage servants, vendors, officious bureaucrats, opportunists, and political toadies, it was of primordial importance to Suzanne, instructing her how to neutralize and rid herself of empty vassals and determined, generally male, political rivals.

Using the female domestic household as a launch pad and nursery for the formation of political and diplomatic skills, Christine de Pizan and Anne of France refashioned female virtue; creating a space for women in government and lighting the political way. They equipped the self-aware princess to obtain and maintain power and influence, anticipating Machiavelli’s conviction that politics had nothing to do with Christian virtue and everything to do with the attainment and exercise of power (*virtù*).⁵⁵ Like Christine, Anne emphasizes the virtues of prudence,⁵⁶ patience and persistence, and her deeply held conviction that reputation and conscious and deliberate acts of self-fashioning and moral circumspection must matter to a princess if she is to survive and prosper.⁵⁷ A princess’s public self-representation “constitute[d] a performance,” designed by her to deflect her contemporary rivals, but likewise one that can be read and analyzed by us for “information on self-conception.”⁵⁸ Christine, in her fourth teaching of Prudence, raises the imperative for the calculated use of “discreet dissimulation,” adding that “this appearance must be

55 Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli’s Virtue* (Chicago, 1998), pp. 37-43; and Eugene Garver, *Machiavelli and the History of Prudence* (Madison, 1987).

56 On the feminization of prudence see Karen Green, “Phronesis Feminised: Prudence from Christine de Pizan to Elizabeth I,” in eds Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green, *Virtue, Liberty and Toleration: Political Ideas of European Women 1400-1800* (New York, 2007), pp. 23-38, esp. pp. 24-32. While I disagree with the authors’ un-interrogated appreciation that Anne’s advice to Suzanne “is conservative” and that the *Enseignements* is a mere “manual of good behaviour that stresses the importance of modesty and a good reputation,” consult Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green, *A History of Women’s Political Thought in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 64-6.

57 See Bella M. Mirabella, “Feminist Self-fashioning: Christine de Pizan and the Treasure of the City of the Ladies,” in *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 9 (1999): 9-20; and Tracy Adams, “Married Noblewomen as Diplomats: Affective Diplomacy,” in ed. Susan Broomhall, *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder* (Farnham, 2016), pp. 51-66, esp. pp. 53-58.

58 See Casteen, *From She-Wolf*, p. 26. On self-performance, Casteen cites Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, 2002), p. 3.

so well controlled and so discreetly and cleverly acted that no one will perceive that it is all pretense.”⁵⁹

Christine de Pizan and Anne of France proposed a clear link between a woman's control of her body and the ability to govern her household, and her preparedness to participate actively and effectively in the governance of a realm.⁶⁰ Earlier feminists have heaped scorn and/or pity upon pre-modern women for their moral conformity and their unwillingness to challenge the patriarchy.⁶¹ More recently, however, feminist scholarship has demonstrated that the medieval centralization of monarchical power and authority benefited not only male monarchs but also their consorts. It cemented the queen as a constitutive component of the emergent state and the well-positioned, shrewd political women who had the potential to become political powerhouses.⁶² The touchstone of pre-modern female political power and influence was a carefully crafted and consciously curated virtuous appearance. While this might have applied to both sexes in some measure, for the pre-modern stateswoman, a self-fashioned, untarnished persona was *the* tool par excellence, “self-consciously deployed to provide the crucial moral authority” that she needed “to exercise influence with both men and women,” an example of Christine's *juste ypcrisie*, and the secret to her success.⁶³

Christine de Pizan, an interested bystander who talked the talk of gendered political engagement, had observed the households of successive queens of France, Jeanne of Bourbon (d. 1378) and Isabeau of Bavaria (d. 1435). A pictorial glimpse of a queen's household is included in first volume of the “Book of

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- 59 Christine de Pizan, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies*, trans. Charity Cannon Willard, ed. Madeleine Perner Cosman (New York, 1989), p. 106. See also Zita Rohr, “Lessons for My Daughter: Self-Fashioning Stateswomanship in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon,” in ed. Laura Delbrugge, *Self-Fashioning and Assumptions of Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 70-121.
- 60 Karen L. Fresco, “Gendered Household Spaces in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*,” in eds Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic, and Sarah Rees Jones, *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c. 850-c. 1550: Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 187-197, esp. pp. 187, 191; Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis, 2000); and *Enseignements*, pp. 40-43, 45-54, 80-84.
- 61 Deborah Rotman, *Historical Archaeology of Gendered Lives* (London, 2009), p. 16; Barbara Newman, “On the Ethics of Feminist Historiography,” *Exemplaria* 2:2 (1990): 702-6, esp. p. 703; and Gayle Rubin, “The Traffic in Women: Notes on a ‘Political Economy’ of Sex,” in ed. Rayna Reiter, *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York, 1975), pp. 157-210.
- 62 Miriam Shadis, “Blanche of Castile and Facingher's ‘Medieval Queenship’: Reassessing the Argument,” in ed. Kathleen Nolan, *Capetian Women* (New York, 2003), pp. 137-161, esp. pp. 138, 142.
- 63 Adams, “Appearing Virtuous,” p. 124.

the Queen" (Harley Ms. 4431), compiled by Christine for Isabeau of Bavaria. A miniature depicts Christine presenting her manuscript to Isabeau, seated in her domestic household surrounded by her ladies. The second volume features a miniature of Christine presenting her manuscript to Charles VI (r. 1380-1422), enthroned in his court in the company of his courtiers.⁶⁴ Christine based her advice and political ideas upon first-hand experience of the disappointing dysfunction of the Valois court during the unsettled reign of Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria, soon after Charles V's and Jeanne of Bourbon's "golden age," of which Christine was a first-hand observer, beneficiary and participant.⁶⁵

Queenship, motherhood and royal office created political spaces within an elite royal woman's household; it was a locus of considerable potential for power and authority.⁶⁶ Queens incrementally deployed the symbolic power of rank, marriage and motherhood to neutralize gender disadvantage, endowing them with considerable authority to administer lands and assets, sometimes governing independently as regents, lieutenants-generals and, very occasionally, viceroys.⁶⁷ Had they been operating in the full glare of a regnant monarch's court, many might not have been able to apply their agency or influence events as effectively as they so clearly did – Isabeau of Bavaria is a case in point. Monarchs needed the support and oblique agency of talented *éminences grises*, male and female, operating at a remove from the bright lights, royal relatives, flunkies, and sycophants inhabiting their political court and very public "domestic" spaces.

In keeping with the templates of Blanche of Castile and their more recent dynastic foremothers on both sides of the Pyrenees, Yolande of Aragon and her great-granddaughter, Anne of France, did not seek out pleasant *divertissements*, or loiter long in disinterested observation or philosophical cloud-shoveling. They were intelligent and highly practical, operating at the front line of court life and masculine politics from their domestic spaces. At the apex of power, Yolande and Anne manipulated their largely unofficial yet powerful authorities and, frustratingly for the twenty-first century researcher, they took meticulous care to hide the power that others were avid to display.⁶⁸ Their strategic mod-

64 British Library Harley Ms. 4431, "The Book of the Queen," 2 vols; vol. 1, fols 1r-177v, see esp. fol. 3r; vol. 2, fols 178r-274v, fol. 180v.

65 Tracy Adams, *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France* (University Park, 2014).

66 Shadis, "Blanche of Castile," pp. 41-46.

67 See Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon (1381-1442) Family and Power: The Reverse of the Tapestry* (New York, 2016), pp. 28, 84, 115-17, 126-27, 173, 197.

68 For instances of the use of covert emissaries and proxy negotiators, see Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon*, passim.

esty, Christine de Pizan's "particularly feminine skill" of "clever dissimulation,"⁶⁹ is the golden thread binding together Anne's *Enseignements* with the influence and agency of her dynastic foremothers and the political and diplomatic efficacy of their respective households. Pélicier remarks that Anne "so effectively camouflaged her political action; she hid herself so completely behind the authority of the king, the count of Clermont [her husband, Pierre de Beaujeu], and their ministers, that her involvement in those affairs is almost imperceptible to us."⁷⁰

Added to this is the scholarly vexation occasioned by the disappearance of the vast bulk of Anne of France's extensive epistolary of which only about forty letters remain, these shedding precious little light upon the depth of her political role.⁷¹ While few in number, a judicious rereading⁷² of these might eventually cast light upon the nature of Anne's productive relationships, offering a precious insight into Anne's personal affiliations and alliances among the women at court and in her household. Jansen's observations concerning Anne is in agreement with my conclusions regarding Yolande of Aragon, that the "lack of information seems deliberate rather than accidental."⁷³ The ways in which crown and national archives have been organized and preserved, coupled with Anne's apparent determination to write herself out of specific events, deserve further investigation by feminist scholars who are particularly well-equipped to recognize patterns in household accounts and other less obvious archival sources. In his recent study of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, Albany raises another idea worth considering: Castiglione's strategy of *acutezza recondita* (hidden subtlety or veiled policy), designed by him to hide agency and dangerous ideas from the gaze of tyrants and rivals.⁷⁴ Like the lens of reputation, *acutezza recondita*, should be called upon as a tool for analysis when studying the households, agency, and writings of elite and royal pre-modern women.⁷⁵

69 Adams, "Appearing Virtuous," p. 123.

70 My paraphrasing. Pélicier, *Essai*, p. 198.

71 Pélicier, *Essai*, p. 199.

72 On the "judicious" reader, consult Albany, *Castiglione's Allegory*, pp. 10-14.

73 Jansen, "Interpretive Essay" in Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, p. 69.

74 Albany, *Castiglione's Allegory*, pp. 12-13, 15, 17-18, 22-5, 153, 168, 230-34.

75 For a lucid discussion regarding the study of reputation and the uses of it as a lens for the analysis of prominent political actors, see Casteen, *She-Wolf*, pp. 16-28.

Individual circumstances mattered.⁷⁶ It is essential therefore to interrogate personality, context, and accident.⁷⁷ The women and men of Anne's household were crucial to the formation of layers and networks of allegiance, and central to her "escolle de vertu et de perfection" (school of virtue and perfection) headquartered at her Bourbon seat of power in Moulins.⁷⁸ A queen or elite royal woman might have *chosen* to couch her power in terms of normative queenly behavior for a variety of reasons, judiciously exercising official authority while conserving the political fiction that her husband, son, brother, son-in-law, or grandson was in charge. Many of these women were superb chess players; in pre-modern times, chess was a pastime that was mastered equally by men and women (of all three estates) from an early age if they had a little leisure time and some spare cash at their disposal. Household accounts point clearly to the fact that, during the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance, women not only played chess but played it well, and surviving literature testifies that these female chess "grandmasters" demonstrated high level analytical ability.⁷⁹

76 Also Lisa Benz St John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 11, 16-17, 62-63, 80-81, 126, 129-30, 147, 165.

77 John Carmi Parsons concluded that "a queen's power was intimately linked to her position within the families to whom she owed allegiance. That this power was both diplomatic and personal [...] further confounds distinctions between public and private." See his essay, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500," in ed. J.C. Parsons, *Medieval Queenship* (New York, 1993), pp. 63-78, quote on p. 78.

78 St John finesses Parsons's conclusion adding that "it is the individualized play of personality between kings and queens that explains the particular dynamics of the power resulting from motherhood and queenship." St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, pp. 95-96.

79 See Rohr, "Playing the Catalan"; Mark N. Taylor, "How Did The Queen Go Mad?" in ed. Daniel E. O'Sullivan, *Chess in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: A Fundamental Thought Paradigm of the Premodern World* (Berlin and Boston, 2012), pp. 169-83; and the rather playful contribution by Dennis Henry, "Maude and Ellie Play Chess," in eds Carole Levin and Christine Stewart-Núñez, *Scholars and Poets Talk About Queens* (New York, 2015), pp. 99-107, esp. p. 101 and the imagined conversation between Henry II, Ellie (his consort, Eleanor of Aquitaine) and Maude (his mother, Empress Matilda) regarding the limitations upon the movement of the chess-queen: "Henry, a queen may do whatever she wishes. [...] We have adjusted the rules to more accurately reflect reality. [...] We remedied that error in the rules the very first time we played." This leaves Henry to ruminate upon who was actually running his kingdom from within their competitive (and not always complementary) "domestic" spaces.

Walking the Walk

While Anne's maternal grandmother, Marie of Anjou, might have been overshadowed by Yolande of Aragon's towering political identity, she played a vital supporting and reassuring role seconding the efforts of her mother.⁸⁰ Marie did this from within her domestic household and by strategically asserting her rank at her husband's court. The same cannot be said for Anne's mother, Charlotte of Savoy, whom Louis XI sidelined politically because he believed that his father, Charles VII, had been a weak and ineffective king who had only succeeded in securing his throne thanks to the political acuity and furious diplomacy of his mother-in-law, Yolande of Aragon (Louis's grandmother), and the gentle yet firm influence of his queen, Marie of Anjou.⁸¹

Despite Louis XI's much vaunted misogyny,⁸² he did not hesitate to observe that his grandmother Yolande had proven her "*cuer d'homme en corps d'une femme*" ("heart of a man in the body of a woman"), or to appoint his daughter Anne, "the least foolish of women, for wise ones he knew of none,"⁸³ unofficial regent during the minority of his heir, Charles VIII.⁸⁴ He knew of plenty of wise women in his immediate dynastic proximity. His grandmother Yolande allowed him ample opportunity to observe her and his mother, the self-effacing but politically effective mother Marie, at close quarters from within their households.⁸⁵ His sisters, Yolande and Madeleine of France, managed the affairs and regencies of their offspring and their marital houses from within their households, and like Louis, they too had been formed in the households of Marie of Anjou and Yolande of Aragon. Yolande of France married Amadeus IX of Savoy, a man of unassertive disposition but of poetic and musical

80 Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon*, pp. 6, 180.

81 Jean Favier, *Louis XI* (Paris, 2001).

82 Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI. The Universal Spider* (London, 2001).

83 "que c'étoit moins folle femme du monde, car de sage il n'y en a point." My paraphrasing. J.M. de La Mure, *Histoire des ducs de Bourbon*, 4 vols (Paris, 1809), 2, p. 326; see also Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Charles VII, Louis XI et la minorité de Charles VIII: 1422-1492*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1982).

84 Louis was a complex individual, possessed of a perverse, sometimes cruel sense of humor; none of his inflammatory utterances should be taken at face value by modern scholars. See Bernard de Mandrot and Charles Samaran (eds), *Dépêches des ambassadeurs milanais en France sous Louis XI et François Sforza*, 4 vols (Paris, 1916-23), 2, pp. 35-36; and Jules Quicherat, *Histoire des règnes de Charles VII et de Louis XI*, ed. Thomas Basin, 4 vols (Paris, 1855-59), 3, p. 193, cited in P.S. Lewis, *Later Medieval France: The Polity* (New York, 1968), p. 117.

85 See Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon*, pp. 88-90, 106, 110-11, 115-16, 195.

inclination, who delegated government to his duchess according her absolute regency for his heir Philibert. Madeleine of France married Gaston of Foix, Prince of Viana, and was regent for her children, François Phébus and Catherine, both of whom inherited the throne of Navarre.⁸⁶ Louis XI's cousin, Marguerite of Anjou, queen-consort of England, shared with her great-grandmother Violant of Bar, queen-consort of Aragon, and her grandmother Yolande, a highly developed political nerve and the courage to match it. She had been schooled in politics, piety and patronage during her formative years in the household of her grandmother, Yolande of Aragon.⁸⁷ Yolande died in 1442, when Marguerite was twelve years old, depriving her of additional influence and domestic mentoring prior to her 1445 marriage to the mentally and politically compromised Henry VI.

Although Louis XI's consort, Charlotte of Savoy, was removed from the center of France's politics to Amboise, she was neither politically or culturally idle, nor isolated. For the first two years of her life, Anne shared her mother Charlotte's household with her paternal grandmother Marie of Anjou, the loyal and attentively tutored daughter of Yolande of Aragon.⁸⁸ Influenced by her assertive mother Anne de Lusignan, Duchess of Savoy, and the legacies and templates of her illustrious in-laws Yolande and Marie, Charlotte established a well-managed and remarkable household for the education of her son Charles and her daughters, Anne and Jeanne, consecrating her time not only to the conscientious fulfilment of this maternal imperative, but also to the establishment of an impressive library⁸⁹ from within a relatively unostentatious domestic space, forming the basis for the Bibliothèque Nationale

86 See also Yolande de France, *Chroniques de Yolande de France, duchesse de Savoie, soeur de Louis XI*, ed. Léon Ménabre (Chambéry, 1859); Alain Marchandisse and Christophe Masson, "Les Tribulations du Grand Bâtard Antoine de Bourgogne en Italie (1475)," *Publication du centre européen d'études Bourguignonnes* 49 (2009), 23-49, esp. pp. 27 n.14, 29 n.22, 32, 34, 40 n. 90, 44, 46; Jean-François Berger, "Port de Nice, sel de Savoie et foires de Genève: un ambitieux projet de la seconde moitié du xve siècle," in J.-F. Berger, *Pour une histoire des Alpes: Moyen-Age et temps modernes* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 857-65; and Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership, 1274-1512* (New York, 2013), pp. 115, 119, 121-22, 127, 133-4, 136-40, 141-2, 150, 159.

87 See Helen Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003); Raluca Radulescu, "Preparing for Mature Years: The Case of Margaret of Anjou and Her Books," in ed. Sue Niebrzydowski, *Middle Aged Women in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 115-38; and Anne-Marie Legaré, "Princesses et duchesses bibliophiles à la cour de René d'Anjou," *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 20 (2012): 37-54.

88 Pradel, *Anne de France*, p. 13.

89 Anne-Marie Legaré, "Charlotte of Savoy's Library and Illuminators," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 4 (2001), 32-67.

(France's National Library),⁹⁰ laying down the foundations for Anne's "escolle de vertu et de perfection,"⁹¹ and influencing her daughters' cultural and literary endeavors.⁹² Charlotte fulfilled the traditional expectations of a queen consort, reconciling Louis and his ambitious younger brother, Charles of Guyenne, in 1469.⁹³ Intelligent and unassuming, "domestic" Charlotte differed from many of the proactive queens consort blooming from the boughs of Anne's family tree, but her contribution to Anne's efficacy and abiding influence was anything but marginal. Added to her mother's durable influence, Anne's political education and subtle understanding of the vagaries of human nature and politics blossomed once her father, Louis XI, took her in hand, whereby she was able to observe him at very close quarters, learning – precociously – from his pragmatism and single-mindedness.⁹⁴ From him, Anne learnt that, to govern effectively and independently, a decent amount of indecencies was a political necessity.⁹⁵

Anne's matrilineal inheritance shares several foremothers: Bonne of Luxembourg; Isabelle of Valois, Duchess of Bourbon; and Jeanne of Bourbon – intra-dynastic alliances being a feature of the house of Valois and its contemporaries. There is, however, uncommon and very prominent low-hanging fruit (or, as some might observe unkindly, poison ivy) to add to this register of illustrious women festooning Anne's matrilineal vine: Isabeau of Bavaria. The discredited white noise of her *soi-disant* marital inconstancy aside, Isabeau's legacy has either been blackened for her expenditure once she had access all areas to the royal treasury, her lack of political capacity, her loss of control over her household, and her inability to govern wisely and disinterestedly in her husband's

90 Karen Green, "What Were the Ladies in the City of the Ladies Reading?" *Medievalia and Humanistica* 36 (2010), 77–100; and eds Constant Mews and John Crossley, *Communities of Learning: Networks and the Shaping of Intellectual Identity in Europe 1100–1500* (Turnhout, 2010).

91 See also Lequain, "La maison de Bourbon."

92 Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Le Château d'Amboise* (Arles, 2004), p. 48; Murielle Gaudé-Ferragu, "'L'honneur de la reine': la mort et les funérailles de Charlotte de Savoie (1^{er}-14 décembre 1483)," *Revue historique* 4:652 (2009): 779–804; and Alexandre Tuetey, "Inventaire des biens de Charlotte de Savoie, reine de France," *Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes* 26 (1895): 338–66, 423–442.

93 Gaudé-Ferragu, "L'honneur de la reine," p. 779; and Jean de Roye, *Journal de Jean de Roye, connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse 1460–1483*, ed. Bernard de Mandrot, 2 vols (Paris, 1894), 1, p. 231.

94 Adrianna Bakos, *Images of Kingship in Early Modern France: Louis XI in Political Thought 1560–1789* (London, 1997), pp. 122–35.

95 Louis XI, *Le Rozier des guerres* (Paris, 1994), pp. vii–ix.

name.⁹⁶ Or, it has been reimagined pristine white and gilded for her unstinting efforts in the interests of her incapacitated husband, their children and France's long-suffering subjects.⁹⁷

(Far From) Final Observations

Christine de Pizan argued that a wise king, with a capable and intelligent wife, should not hesitate to extend to her the authority to rule in his name.⁹⁸ Like Anne of France, Christine's ideas are borne out by history and personal experience – the walk, not just the talk – and both women represent their own activity as a “complicated amalgam” of “lived experience and an oral tradition of communal [or in the case of Anne, dynastic] female speakers.”⁹⁹ Anne's matrilineal line, reaching from Aragon to France, over the Channel and across the Alps, shared common characteristics. As children, they were taken in hand by astute female mentors. The households of their female mentors were much more than domestic spaces; they were republics of power and influence. The female heads of these republics were exposed to a rich capital of experience demonstrated by their foremothers and kinswomen from within their households.¹⁰⁰ This is at the heart of Anne's approach to her own political career and to the education of Suzanne and other young women fortunate enough to find

96 Georges Minois, *La Guerre de Cent ans: Naissance de deux nations* (Paris, 2008), p. 270; Marie-Thérèse Caron, *Noblesse et pouvoir royal en France: XIII^e-XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1994), p. 188; André Tuilier, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris et de la Sorbonne*, 2 vols (Paris, 1994), 1, p. 186; André Poulet, “Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation,” in ed. Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, pp. 93-116, on p. 115; Bernard Guenée, *Un Meurtre, une société: L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 novembre 1407* (Paris, 1992), pp. 147-48; *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, ed. Colette Beaune (Paris, 1990), p. 208 n.7. All guilty as charged according to Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria* (Baltimore, 2010), pp. xiii-xiv. See also the durable and erudite study by Marie-Josèphe Pinet, *Christine de Pisan 1364-1430: Etude biographique et littéraire* (Paris, 1928; rpt Geneva, 1974).

97 Rachel Gibbons treads a more moderate path in defending Isabeau in “Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France (1385-1422): The Creation of an Historical Villainess,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 6, vol. 6 (1996): 51-73; and idem, “The Queen as ‘Social Mannequin’: Consumerism and Expenditure at the Court of Isabeau of Bavaria, 1393-1422,” *Journal of Medieval History* 26: 4 (2000): 371-95.

98 Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of the Ladies*, trans. Rosalind Brown-Grant (London, 1999), p. 80.

99 Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's “Cité des Dames”* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 37.

100 Rohr, “Self-fashioning Stateswomanship,” p. 72.

themselves at the glittering court of Bourbon. Later, they too reached out from their respective domestic republics, to command authority, respect and influence, demonstrating an astonishing capacity to exploit their diverse political, familial, and cultural networks to durable advantage. They understood the importance of an irreproachable household, a spotless reputation, the need for strategic ceremony and targeted patronage, and the imperative to dress for success rather than becoming victims of fashion and excess – these lessons are emphasized by Anne in her *Enseignements*.

Anne of France's *Enseignements* prioritizes the domestic and the need for pragmatic self-fashioning – markers of female assertiveness rather than female submissiveness. Anne counseled that, at all times but especially once widowed, wise princesses must stay in absolute control of their master narratives; they must eliminate any and all possibilities for criticism and, most importantly, they must never surrender control of their affairs to anyone: "When it comes to the government of their lands and affairs, they must depend only on themselves; when it comes to sovereignty, *they must not cede power to anyone*."¹⁰¹ Not what one might expect to find in a conventional *mirror* for a princess, these instead are wise words from a powerful, politically relevant, yet anxious widowed mother to her only child, her twelve-year-old daughter Suzanne, on the cusp of womanhood and mature female political responsibility. Anne's words were built upon her hard-won political experience, and a long tradition of matrilineal dynastic experience arising from domestic household spaces.

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101 *Enseignements*, pp. 42, 87; Jansen, ed., *Lessons*, pp. 31, 64; and Rohr, "Self-fashioning States-womanship," pp. 48, 72-73.

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A Precarious Household: Catherine of Aragon in England, 1501-1504

Theresa Earenfight

In the late summer of 1501, the Spanish *infanta* (princess) Catalina (1485-1536) left her home in Spain and travelled by sea to England to marry Arthur Tudor in October. Six months later, she was a widow in a foreign realm where she barely spoke English. Most of her Spanish companions had returned to Spain after the wedding. Worse yet, Arthur's death in April 1502 rendered her status, and thus her household, indeterminate. The widowed bride was at the center of a prolonged battle of royal families: her parents Isabel of Castile (b. 1451, r. 1474-1504) and Fernando II of Aragon (b. 1452, r. Castile 1475-1504, r. Aragon 1479-1516) against Arthur's parents Henry VII (b. 1457, r. 1485-1509) and Elizabeth of York (1466-1503). Catalina not only had changed her name to Catherine, she had experienced three dramatic life-changing transitions: in status, from Spanish *infanta* to the bride of an English prince to a seventeen-year-old widow; in location, from Spain to England; and in wealth, from living in an amply funded big household to making do with a small and impecunious household in lodgings on the Strand rented from the Archbishop of Durham. With these changes, she suffered a loss of autonomy and personal dignity. Despite these fluctuations, she retained substantial latent power as a princess from one of the most influential families in Europe and dynastic power as a potential wife of a king and mother of an heir.

Throughout this period in her life, however, there was one constant: The small group of Spanish and English women and men of her household who were closest to her formed a steady emotional foundation for her that rejoiced with her in 1509 at her second wedding to Arthur's younger brother, Henry VIII, and some stayed with her to her death in 1536, not as Henry's queen but as his rejected Princess Dowager.¹

¹ The standard scholarly biography of Catherine of Aragon is by Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Boston, 1941); see also Theresa Earenfight, "Raising *Infanta* Catalina de Aragón To Be Catherine, Queen of England," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46:1 (2016): 417-43; idem, "Regarding Catherine of Aragon," in eds Carole Levin and Christine Stewart-Núñez *Scholars and Poets Talk About Queens* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 137-57; and Timothy Elston, "Almost the Perfect Woman: Public and Private expectations of Catherine of Aragon, 1501-1536," PhD dis-

The bureaucracy of the royal household was well established by 1501 and it stipulated that as a royal princess, she was entitled to the care and support of her immediate family until she married. Catherine came to England with ample provisions, a dowry that was to be paid in installments (the payment of which was the bone of contention between Fernando and Henry VII), and hundreds of ladies and lords to accompany her to her wedding in London and make her feel at home in new land. Once married, she and her husband, Arthur, would be supported by her husband's family until Henry VII's death, at which point she would be granted a queen's household, with a full staff of officers and an income separate from that of the king. Those well-laid plans would probably have worked out smoothly, but nowhere was the possibility of early widowhood considered, and certainly not at a time when the widow's marital fate was a point of debate. When Arthur died, Catherine's fate in England was unclear and so were her household and her finances. From April 1502, she had little control over her actions except to plead with both her father and father-in-law for financial support.

This essay examines the women in Catherine's household during the indeterminate years from 1501 to 1504. The deaths of her mother-in-law in 1503 and mother in 1504 mark an emotional pivot point as well as a documentary one: the records of her household are either rare or nonexistent from 1504 until 1509. I begin from a premise that for a woman, the royal household was a precarious and sometimes lonely place where her actions and the very substance of her life depended on circumstances outside of her control. Yes, a widow can exercise considerable power and authority as the head of a household, as Linda Mitchell argues for Joan de Valence in Chapter 4. But as a widowed noblewoman, Joan had property that she could manage on her own, which gave her a social and economic autonomy and security that Catherine did not have until her wedding in 1509 to Arthur's younger brother, Henry VIII. She had no property in England. After Arthur's death, Catherine was protected by her mother-in-law, Elizabeth of York, who paid some of Catherine's expenses after the death of Arthur and until her death on 11 February 1503.² For another

sertation, The University of Nebraska (Lincoln), 2004; For Isabel, see Peggy Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 2004) and Barbara Weissberger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis, 2004). For Henry VII, see Sean Cunningham, *Henry VII* (London, 2007); and for Elizabeth of York, Arlene Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (Basingstoke, 2009). For Arthur, see Louise M. Haywood, "The Princess and the Unicorn: Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Catherine of Aragon?" in eds Ian Mac Pherson and Ralph John Penny, *The Medieval Mind: Hispanic Studies in Honour of Alan Deyermond* (London, 1997), pp. 189-204.

2 Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, pp. 113, 194.

year and a half, her mother, Isabel of Castile, continued to pay for her household until her death on 26 November 1504.³ She suffered greatly at the deaths of her mother, Isabel, and her mother-in-law, Elizabeth of York. After that, she was at the center of a diplomatic contest between her father, Fernando of Aragon, and her father-in-law, Henry VII.

Catherine's experiences during this precarious period clearly show that people are the fabric, the essence of the royal household. This reinforces a point made well by other essays in this volume, but examining Catherine's dilemma reveals the people who embodied the values and notions of kinship, friendship, and service that served as the mortar that held her household together. The royal household was, of course, never just a set of rooms or a domestic space.⁴ Much work has been done on the men at court and in the household, such as the studies by Alexander Bronarbit, David McDermott, and Helder Carvalho in this volume, with much of the focus on the military, political, and religious aspects of court life.⁵ Only recently has scholarly attention been paid to women's households, and much of this work builds on studies on the administration of the medieval queen's household by Hilda Johnstone and John Carmi Parsons, who were interested in economic resources and patronage.⁶ Olwen Hufton looks at women in courts, but focuses mostly on the

3 Antonio de la Torre and E.A. de la Torre, eds., *Cuentas de Gonzalo Baeza, tesorero de Isabel la Católica, 1477-1504*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1955), vol. 2, pp. 630, 653-57; and Álvaro Fernández de Códrova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I: Ritos y ceremonias de una reina 1474-1504* (Madrid, 2002), pp. 164-67.

4 For the general organization of the household, see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford, 2001); Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. von Birke, eds. *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991). On the physical space of the Tudor court, see Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven, 1993).

5 For Spain, see Códrova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*. For England, see David Grummitt, "Household, Politics and Political Morality in the Reign of Henry VII," *Historical Research* 82: 217 (2009): 393-411; and ed. David Starkey, *The English Court from the War of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987). For the medieval precedents, see Hilda Johnstone, "The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, Son of Edward I," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 7:3 (1923): 384-420; idem, "The Wardrobe and Household Accounts of the Sons of Edward I," *Historical Research* 2:5 (1924): 37-45; A.R. Myers, *Crown, Household and Parliament in Fifteenth Century England* (London, 1985); and ed. idem, *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959). For Portugal, see Rita Costa Gomes, *The Making of a Court Society: Kings and Nobles in Late Medieval Portugal* (Cambridge, 2003).

6 On royal women, see John Carmi Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290: An Edition of British Library, Additional Manuscript 35294* (Toronto, 1977); Margaret Howell, "The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort," *English Historical Review*

eighteenth-century continental, mostly French, courts.⁷ In this volume, Caroline Dunn, Isabel de Pina Baleiras, Manuela Santos Silva, Zita Rohr, Penelope Nash, and Megan Welton all discuss women at royal courts, and Eileen Kim and Alana Lord take up the specific problem of women in indeterminate households. For a study specific to the Tudor court, Barbara Harris's work on aristocratic women is invaluable but needs to be read obliquely to glean information about the royal court.⁸ But the records for the Castilian and Tudor court are richer in substance and more detailed.

Here, I am interested in particular in the Spanish women attendants at court (or men, for that matter) who have not been the object of much study. The Spanish scholars consider Catherine to be an English queen, and the English scholars pay close attention to English women, not Spanish. My purpose here is not to engage directly in that particular historiographic debate, but rather to suggest that by neglecting the Spanish women at court, scholars downplay the role of both the women and the important role they had in the royal household. They did not enact laws, negotiate treaties, or muster troops, but they provided a sense of stability in an uncertain world for a young Spanish princess trying to make her way in the English court. I will rely on sociological theories on formal and informal personal networks, and new work on the history of emotions, to integrate the Spanish and English sources and give as full a picture as possible of Catherine's complex court and household. In many ways, this is a preliminary study, based on a combination of primary sources, both printed and archival, and excellent research into the lives and careers of English and Spanish noble families.

One source, however, provides rich and detailed information on Catherine's court and household. Much of what we can know about the Spanish women at Catherine's court and household in Spain and England comes largely from the

(1987): 372-93; Hilda Johnstone, "The Queen's Household," *The English Government at Work* 132 (1940): 7-1336; A.R. Myers, *The Captivity of a Royal Witch: The Household Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21* (Manchester, 1940); and M.G. Underwood, "Politics and Piety in the Household of Lady Margaret Beaufort," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987): 39-52. For nobles and gentry, see Rowena B. Archer, "How ladies ... who live on manors ought to manage their households and estates": Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages," in ed. P.J.P. Goldberg, *Woman is a Worthy Wright: Women in English Society, c. 1200-1500* (Wolfboro Falls, NH, 1992), 149-81.

7 Olwen Hufton, "Reflections on the Role of Women in the Early Modern Court," *The Court Historian* 5:1 (2000): 1-13. See also Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, eds., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2013).

8 Barbara Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002).

accounts kept by Gonzalo de Baeza, the treasurer for Queen Isabel of Castile from 1477 to 1504.⁹ These records are continuous, and very little escaped Baeza's keen eyes: he recorded payments for everything from salaries to the courtiers to cloth and bits for a mule, from salaries for her tutors to payments to her shoemakers. From this, it is possible to construct a fairly complete list of the people who nurtured, fed, clothed, and rocked the cradle for Catherine when she was a child and who served her, loved her, and stood steadfastly by her until after her arrival in England and until her death in 1536. Spanish noble genealogies provide details on the families of her Spanish attendants, and references to both her Spanish and English attendants are found in the letters and papers for the reign of Henry VII in England, and the Privy Purse accounts of Queen Elizabeth of York.¹⁰

Catherine's household from the summer of 1501 to April 1502 was a travelling household, not unlike the Duke of Buckingham's described by Audrey Thorstad in Chapter 15. I have found no record of payments by Queen Isabel to the travel expenses, but it is well documented that Catherine and her household attendants were on the road and at sea, led by the Count and Countess of Cabra.¹¹ On arrival in England, they moved from Plymouth to London, and finally she and Arthur moved to Ludlow Castile. After Arthur's death, she settled her household at Durham House while waiting for the men in her life to decide who her next husband would be. Her perambulations took her from Spain, from 21 May to 17 August: Granada, Toledo, Medina del Campo, Valladolid, Santiago de Compostela, and La Coruña. She spent one month in La Coruña until 27 September, and then stayed at Laredo until the ship finally set sail. She landed in Plymouth on 2 October and began a ceremonial procession to Westminster with stops at Exeter (Devon), Honiton (Devon), Crokeborne (or Crewkerne, Somerset), Sherbourne Abbey (Dorset), Shaftesbury Abbey (Dorset), Amesbury Abbey (Wiltshire), Andover (Hampshire), Basingstoke (Hampshire), and the Bishop of Bath's palace at Dogmersfield (Hampshire). By 4 November the royal party was at Kingston-on-Thames (London), Kennington (London), and finally, bishop's palace at St. Paul's cathedral in London.¹² Belying the harsh criticism

9 De la Torre and de la Torre, eds., *Cuentas de Gonzalo Baeza*.

10 *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York; Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV, with a memoir of Elizabeth of York, and notes*, ed. Nicholas Nicolas (London, 1830).

11 The English refer to him as "therl of Spain." *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, ed. Gordon Kipling (Oxford, 1990), book 3, line 260, 3/287-8, 3/292, and 4/279.

12 The details of her journey through England and the ceremonial processions in London are recorded in Kipling, ed., *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne* and *The Great Chronicle of London, attributed to Robert Fabyan*, eds A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1938). Boroughs noted in the text refer to the modern geographic designations.

of Thomas More, the descriptions of events celebrating her marriage – the allegorical masques and plays, the highly structured processions through London that marked one's status, family and affinity relationships – show an admiring audience. For Catherine, this was the culmination of her transformation from Spanish *infanta* to Princess of Wales, and she expressed this in her fashionable dress, shoes, hats, hooped skirts, and her hair. Her entire wardrobe was a visual presentation of her foreignness and it marked the move of the Tudor dynasty from an English stage to one far more broadly European in outlook and ambition. Her attire and that of her attendants attracted comment almost immediately. The English who attended the festivities celebrating Catherine's arrival in England and wedding noted her "attire after the manor of Spain":

And aftir theim rode the Princes upon a great mule richely trapped aftir the manour of Spayne, the Duke of Yorke on her right hand and the Legate of Rome on her left hande. She was in riche apparell on her body aftir the manour of her contre, and upon her hed a litill hatte fashounyd like a cardinales hatte of a praty brede with a lase of golde at this hatt to steye hit, her heere hanging down abowt her shulders, which is faire aburne, and in maner of a coyfe betwene her hede and her hatt of a carnacion colour, and that was fastenyd from the myddis of her hed upwards so as men might weell se all her heere from the myddill parte of her hed downward.¹³

The author also commented on the other Spanish ladies in the procession (four from England and four from Spain) who also had their hair down, and that they wore red hats like a cardinal's hat "as the Princes hade." But the Spanish ladies wore black gowns, with black "kerchiers" on their heads "like unto the fashon of a religious woman aftir the maner of Spayne."¹⁴ Catherine and her entourage also brought a distinctive sense of fashion to the Tudor court with the introduction of the farthingale: "and beneth her wastes certain rownde hopys beryng owte ther gownes from ther bodies aftir their countray maner."¹⁵ This style of dress marked the Spanish women and the community in

13 Kipling, ed., *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateriye*, p. 32.

14 Kipling, ed., *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateriye*, p. 32.

15 Kipling, ed., *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateriye*, p. 43. The full text of the passage reads: "The garmentes of the Lord Prince and Princes bothe were of whight saten, but for the straunge diversitie of raiment of the countreth of Hispayne to be discryvyn: she were that tyme and daye of her maryage upon her hed a coyf of whight silk with a brodre of goold, perle, and precious ston, being of an unche and an half of brede, the which covered the great parte of hir visage and also a large quantite of her body toward her wast and myddill; her gown

the household that surrounded Catherine, so distinct from the more sober English style that Thomas More derisively described them as “ridiculous, tattered, barefooted, pygmy Ethiopians.”¹⁶ The nasty tone taken by More suggests that Catherine had good reason to stay close to her Spanish companions and they to her.

After the wedding on 14 Nov 1501, the couple stayed at Windsor until 21 December, and then began the move to Wales via Abingdon (then part of Berkshire), Kenilworth (Warwickshire), and Bewdley (Worcestershire). They arrived in Ludlow Castle (Shropshire) at the end of December and lived there until April 1502. Little is known of the details of the progress through the countryside or the court at Ludlow except that Margaret Pole, the countess of Salisbury, and her husband Richard Pole were there, as was Rhys ap Thomas, a prominent Welsh lord and ally of Henry VII. Margaret Pole figures prominently in Catherine’s life as queen, particularly as a vocal opponent to Henry’s actions in the divorce, but from 1502 to 1509, she was occupied with family matters and rarely at court.¹⁷ After Arthur’s death on 2 April, Catherine was too ill to travel with his funeral cortege to Worcester. Once she had recovered, she left Ludlow probably in late April or early May, when she arrived at Durham House in London, the official palace of the bishop of Durham, situated on the Strand. At Durham House, she probably used only parts of the house and shared the rest with the Bishop of Durham when she resided in London until 1509, when she married Henry VIII and set up her household as queen.¹⁸ Durham House was centrally located, which gave her a physical proximity to court at Westminster and Greenwich, but most of what transpired during those years are lost to us. Except for a few letters to Fernando pleading for money, very little is known about her expenses and income.¹⁹ Further research is necessary to determine the expenses of this itinerary across England, which may well be found in the

very large, both the slevys and also the body with many plights, moch litche unto meny clothing; and aftir the same fourme the remenant of the ladies of Hispayne were arrayed; and beneth her wastes certain rownde hopys beryng owte ther gownes from ther bodies aftir their countray mane.”

16 R.W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (Ann Arbor, 1958), citing British Library, London, Arundel MS 249 fol. 85.

17 Hazel Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, 1473-1541* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 28-34.

18 For the archaeology of Durham House, see John Schofield, *London 1100-1600: The Archaeology of a Capital City* (London, 2011); idem, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven, 1995, 2nd ed., 2003); and H.B. Wheatley, “Original plan of Durham House [...] 1612,” *London Topographical Record* 10 (1916): 150-62.

19 This correspondence has been widely noted. See Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, pp. 70, 88-89.

household accounts of the regional lords with whom she and Arthur and their entourage stayed.

Arlene Okerlund argues that Henry VII spent “freely and generously” on his family, including Catherine of Aragon, and paid his staff generously until Elizabeth of York’s death when he began to pinch pennies regarding his support for his widowed daughter-in-law.²⁰ Henry VII initially showed great kindness to Catherine, as when he gave lavish gifts of jewelry to the Spanish ladies when they departed and gave Catherine the jewel of her choice as a compensation for the loss of her Spanish attendants:

And aftire that she had chosen and electe at her pleasure, for her sake every lady of Hispayne with her hade their severall eleccions, and the residue was distributid and geven to the ladies of Englund. And thus with this pleasures and other disportes and commodities, she summwhat ass-lakyd her hevynes and drew herself unto the maner, guyse, and usages of Englund with her most dere and lovyng husbond, the noble Prince Arthur.”²¹

Henry’s recognition of the emotionally charged relationship between Catherine and her attendants is striking. He saw the “hevynes” of her heart, took pleasure in helping her regain her sunny disposition, and, probably, be a pleasing wife to “her most dere and lovyng husbond.” Some of Henry’s actions bear the mark of a social script, an action that is expected in certain settings and that mark out the emotional terrain of the emotional community of the royal household.

Elizabeth’s Privy Purse accounts show Elizabeth as particularly attentive to Catherine: she settled past due bills accrued from the wedding, and paid the expenses for the black velvet used in the litter that brought Katherine to London from Ludlow. There are records of messengers going back and forth between Elizabeth of York and Catherine, noting that Elizabeth sent five deer for Catherine’s table along with four yards of flannel. Elizabeth paid for the expenses for Catherine’s barge from Durham House to Westminster when she came for a visit, and a litter of blue velvet with cushions of blue damask which was probably given to one of Catherine’s attendants (an unnamed “lady of Spain”).²² After the death of Arthur, Catherine continued to give away cloth, clothing, and presumably shoes to her ladies, and tried to dress impressively,

20 Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, pp. 113, 194.

21 Kipling, ed., *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, pp. 77–78.

22 *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, pp. 10, 48, 61, 69, 94, 103.

even though her income was reduced. In August 1504, the king invited her to accompany him on a hunt at Richmond and lodge with his court for three days.²³ But his affections cooled after the death of Elizabeth and as the tensions with King Fernando mounted.

Through all of this moving about and changes in Catherine's status, a few Spanish members of her household remained consistent and loyal: Inés de Vanegas and her daughters, the women who attended to her personal, intimate needs; María de Salinas, Catalina de Montoya, and María de Rojas, the noble women who were her closest friends; Elvira Manuel, the formidable head of her household staff; her confessor Alessandro Geraldini; and the Spanish ambassador to the Tudor court, Rodrigo de Puebla. These women and men had been with Catherine since she was eleven, living with her sisters and parents in Granada.²⁴ Their personal relationships were close, but always predicated on the understanding of the status differences. Nevertheless, their loyalties would be tested, for some to the risk of death in the face of an angry king, and this indicates more than loyalty. The emotional component cannot be downplayed and, I argue, it gave real and enduring power to the emotional community of women at court.²⁵

Most lowly in status but vital to Catherine's well-being were Inés de Vanegas (called Agnes in the English sources) and her daughters, Maria, Teresa, and Inés. Neither noble nor servile, they were, however, key women in Catherine's transition from Spain to Italy. Inés was Catherine's childhood *ama*, an affectionate term for a governess or close personal attendant. Inés, and later her daughters, dressed her, tended to her personal appearance, and made certain that her wardrobe was up to royal standards. But they were hardly mere employees of the royal household. Queen Isabel continued to pay them from her household accounts even after Catherine's wedding in 1501 while they were living in England. This may be partly due to the fact that after Arthur's death in April 1502, Catherine's finances were precarious, but it signals clearly their importance to Catherine. In fact, Isabel's payment continued until 1504, when Baeza did the final accounting of Isabel's household following her death in November of that year. We also know that Inés, the mother, died sometime in 1504, because Baeza notes in his accounting that the money in 1504 was to go to her heirs, presumably her daughters.

23 Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, pp. 215ff.

24 De la Torre y de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, p. 381; and Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 162.

25 For a study of the history of emotions, see Barbara Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge, 2016), esp. pp. 35-57.

In December 1505, in an often-cited letter, Catherine writes in deeply emotional terms to her father describing her financial plight:

Your highness shall know, as I have often written to you, that since I came into England, I have not had a single *maravedí* [Spanish coin of account], except a certain sum which was given me for food, and this such a sum that it did not suffice without my having many debts in London; and that which troubles me more is to see my servants and maidens so at a loss, and that they have not the wherewith to get clothes; and this I believe is all done by hand of the doctor, who, notwithstanding your highness has written, sending him word that he should have money from the king of England, my lord that their costs should be given them, yet, in order not to trouble him, will rather entrench upon and neglect the service of your highness.²⁶

It is unclear to what extent she truly had “not a single *maravedí*,” because there are no financial records from her household at Durham House. She may have been taking an extreme emotional tone to extract more money to support her, but contemporary diplomatic records concur. Whatever the actual magnitude of penury, this state of affairs persisted, and worsened, and then became the norm.²⁷

Baeza’s accounting is valuable in that he fills in some of the blanks in the record when he notes all the expenses which were paid for out of Queen Isabel’s treasury: salaries, objects purchased, and the cost of moving from place to place. From this, we can determine who was at court and discern more accurately the rank and importance of Catherine’s attendants. For example, in 1498, when Catherine was betrothed to Arthur Tudor and referred to as the *Princesa de Gales* (Princess of Wales), Baeza paid the Spanish noblewoman, María Osorio, the wife of a son from the prominent Guzmán family, 100,000 *maravedís* for her service at court. For comparison, that is roughly equivalent to the dowry of the daughter of a grandee in 1479. The particular service is unspecified, and her status suggests that she probably was a lady-in-waiting, a companion. Even when she moved with Catherine from Spain, Inés de Vanegas as *ama* received a salary from Isabel, about a third as much as was paid to Osorio, 35,185 *maravedís*, which clearly signals both her lower rank and her value to the queen. Her daughters María, Teresa, and Inés were paid 27,000

26 “Spain: December 1505.” *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. G.A. Bergenroth, vol. 1, 1485-1509 (London, 1862), pp. 376-79.

27 Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, pp. 63-65, 68, 72-73, 89-90, 109-110.

maravedís each. Further down the status roster are the lowlier members of court responsible for the care of Catherine's clothing, shoes, bed linens, and personal objects: Beatriz de Torres (10,000), Ana de Pliego (8,000), Nieta (also 8,000), and Porricas (6,000). Salaries may seem to us to be a poor indicator of affection, but it does suggest importance to Catherine. More telling is the longevity of the relationship, from childhood to death, and the fact that Isabel's treasurer knew that these women mattered enough to both Catherine and her mother to merit that their salaries be paid in full long after Catherine had moved to England. Furthermore, the records of salaries are important because they open a window on Catherine's affective relationships with the women in her court. Seeing the salaries as people and the objects as tokens of affection that bound Catherine to her attendants and ladies-in-waiting takes us out of the realm of accounting.

Inés's daughter, also Inés, settled smoothly into life in England, where she was called Agnes. She benefited nicely from her service to Catherine. She and one of her sisters were part of the Spanish entourage at the funeral of Henry VII on 11 May 1509.²⁸ One month later, at roughly the same time that Catherine married Henry Tudor and became queen, Inés married William Blount, lord Mountjoy, a student of Erasmus and a member of Henry's household.²⁹ They do not appear to have had any children, and she died sometime before February 1515. This sort of class-jumping made service to a queen a highly desirable line of work, but for Catherine, it meant that her loyal Spanish attendants remained in England and as part of her extended household.

Notable among the middling-rank Spanish noblewomen at court was María de Rojas, daughter of Francesco de Rojas, count de Salinas. She came to England in 1501 in the Castilian entourage for the wedding of Catherine and Arthur. She does not appear on the coronation list, which may be an indication of her rank. She was, however, a close friend. In 1531, when María was sought to give a

28 In the English records, they are referred to in various ways: Dame Agnes Vanegas for the mother and Dame Maria de Gavara, Catalina de Gavara, and Isabel de Vanegas for the daughters reflecting their surnames after marriage. London, The National Archives LC 2/1; and *Letters and Papers illustrative of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. James Gairdner, 2 vols. Rolls Series. I: Henry VII [1486-1508]. II: Henry VII [1487-1507, plus some undated] (London, 1861); and *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 1, 1509-1514*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London, 1920). Here, *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 11-12.

29 "Henry VIII to Fernando King of Aragon: Begs favour for Agnes de Venegas, one of his Queen's ladies, whom William lord Mountjoy has married. Greenwich, 30 July, 1509." TNA Sp. Transcr., Ser. I., 5, f. 53; *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. I, no. 28; and *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. Bergenroth, vol. 2, no. 20.

deposition concerning the consummation of the marriage between Catherine and Prince Arthur, she reported that she slept in the same bed as Catherine to comfort her after Arthur's death.³⁰ Her marriage prospects in England fizzled, and she returned to Spain around 1504 where she married Alvaro de Mendoza y Guzman, one of the most powerful Castilian noble families.³¹

María de Rojas's career pales, however, with that of María de Salinas, the daughter of a Castilian nobleman and courtier, Martín de Salinas, and Josefa Gonzales de Salas.³² She may have been related to María de Rojas, but we do know for certain that she was part of Catherine's entourage from Spain and, unlike most of that group, she stayed on. She was well compensated for her career at court. Her family was well-connected to the wider Spanish network in Flanders, where a relative, Juan Adursa, a Castilian merchant in Flanders, served as one of the advisors to Archduke Philip of Burgundy (son-in-law of Isabel and Fernando). She appears in many of the official records of the reign that document the intimacy and emotional bonds of the royal court. In 1509 she attended Catherine at Henry VII's funeral, her wedding to Henry, and her coronation.³³ In 1511, she was godmother to the daughter of Princess Mary Tudor (Henry VIII's sister) and Charles Brandon.³⁴ She received letters of citizenship on 29 May 1516, and became Lady Willoughby when she married William, tenth lord Willoughby of Eresby, master of the royal hart hounds. She received a dowry of 1,100 marks from the royal treasury. They were married at Greenwich, probably in the chapel of the Observant Friars (Franciscans) where Catherine and Henry had married, and were given the loan of Greenwich Palace for their honeymoon and several manors in Lincolnshire as a wedding present.³⁵ As a sign of royal affection, Henry VIII named one of his new ships

30 *Calendar of State Papers Spain*, vol. 4, no. 577.

31 *Geneall: Portal de Genealogía*, <<http://geneall.net/es/name/88320/maria-de-rojas-senora-de-santa-cruz-de-campero/>>. Some scholars have speculated that María de Rojas and María de Salinas were related and that when María de Rojas left England to marry, María de Salinas replaced her. Cecile Goff, *A Woman of the Tudor Age* (London, 1930), pp. 3-4.

32 She is the "Mary de Salyns" who was recorded at her coronation (24 June, 1509, in *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol 2, no. 148). See also A. Rodríguez Villa, *El Emperador Carlos V y su Corte* (Madrid, 1903-1905); and M.J. Portilla, "Un vitoriano en la corte de Carlos V," *Boletín de la Institución Sancho el Sabio* 8:1-2 (1964): pp. 121-60.

33 TNA Letters Close 2/1; *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 11-12.

34 Steven J. Gunn, *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, 1484-1545* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 95-96, 118, 130, 132-33, 142, 154, 156, 158, 199.

35 The manors were at Grimsthorpe, Southorp, and Edenham. *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, p. 1, m. 8, fol. 24; item no. 2172, dated 14 July 1516.

the Mary Willoughby, in her honor.³⁶ María was one of the mourners at the funeral of Princess Mary, and her daughter, Catherine, became the ward of Charles Brandon upon Willoughby's death.³⁷ After 1509, she became an even more prominent figure at court and was mentioned specifically in the reorganization of the household by Cardinal Wolsey. He ordered that Anne Boleyn and María de Salinas each have a room allotted to them at court with breakfasts provided (he also notes the allotment for the king, queen, and high-ranking nobles). A duke or duchess was provided with food and drink for the entire household to consume together and presumably, for a while anyway, convivially at table: one "chelt lof" and one "manchet" (fine white breads) and one gallon of ale in the morning; likewise for supper with a pitcher of wine, too.³⁸

The mundane details of food and ale obscure just how treacherous, both politically and emotionally, it was to be part of an emotional community at the Tudor court, where friendship had political implications. As Henry's affections cooled in the 1520s and he turned to Anne Boleyn, María's service at court and her personal loyalty put her in a dangerous position. María been ordered to leave Queen Catherine's service in 1532, but she continued to correspond with the cast-off queen and sent her news of her daughter, Mary Tudor. In December 1533, Brandon was ordered to disband some of Catherine's servants and move her to Somersham. María locked herself in her room and told Eustace Chapuys, the imperial ambassador and a staunch ally of Catherine, that she only relented when Charles admitted that he wished something dreadful would have happened on the road which would have made it impossible for him to carry out his duty to Henry.³⁹ In December 1535, when Catherine was fatally ill, María wrote to Thomas Cromwell, Henry's secretary, asking for permission to visit Catherine who was "very sor sick again," reminding him that he "did promise me to labour the king's grace to get me license to go to her grade afore God send for her."⁴⁰ He refused her request, but she defied the orders and travelled

36 Goff, *A Woman of the Tudor Age*, pp. 3-8.

37 Court battles ensued at this point over the Willoughby lands and title and continued in Chancery and the Star Chamber after Suffolk married Catherine in 1534. Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp. 95-96, 130, 132-33, 142.

38 Goff, *A Woman of the Tudor Age*, pp. 9-10.

39 Brandon/Suffolk's loyalties were tested during the divorce when he tried to take a moderate path. Brandon was the one who had to go to Buckden Palace to tell Catherine she was no longer Queen. Brandon was sent by Henry on numerous missions to impress upon her the reality of her new marital state. Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp. 95-96, 118, 130, 132-33, 142, 154, 156, 158, 199.

40 Letter to Secretary Cromwell, dated 30 December 1535, in *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, ed. Mary Anne E. Wood, 3 vols (London: 1846), vol. 2, p. 207-209.

to Kimbolton Castle anyway. She was with Catherine when she died on January 7, 1536 and was the second mourner at Catherine's funeral in February (the first mourner was Charles Brandon's daughter, Eleanor). Maria remained in England, and had two dower houses, Parham Old Hall in Suffolk and the Barbican in London, and she also resided at Eresby and Grimsthorpe, where she died in May 1539.⁴¹ This deep and abiding friendship went beyond Catherine's childhood and Spain, beyond service and obligation. The emotional bond extended the household beyond the confines of a physical space and was a more durable bond than any salary or gift given to a staff member.

Not all the relationships at court were as personally satisfying as that of Catherine and María de Salinas. For example, Doña Elvira Manuel de Villena Suárez de Figueroa (c.after 1444–c.after 1506), was first Catherine's governess and later an intriguer whose actions threatened the fragile stability of Catherine's household.⁴² Elvira, the daughter of Juan Manuel de Villena Fonseca, lord of Belmonte de Campos, and Aldonza Suárez de Figueroa, came to England in 1501, the head of Catherine's household and the Spanish women at court as *dueña* (head of household), *camarera mayor* (chief lady-in-waiting in the chamber), and *guarda de las damas* (guardian of the ladies). Isabel promoted Elvira for her fierce loyalty to Catherine and her unyielding strictness regarding the behavior of ladies at court. But like many people in the royal household, her loyalties to Catherine were shared with her husband, Pedro Gomez Manrique, Catherine's chief major-domo, and their son Íñigo, the master of Catherine's pages. She was handpicked by Isabel to serve Catherine, and early in the relationship there was an affectionate bond. Isabel clearly valued Elvira and paid her salary of 50,000 *maravedís* per year.⁴³ The death of Isabel in 1504 and Catherine's own increasing talent for managing her own affairs led to an unfortunate series of events in December 1505. Elvira compromised her loyalty to Catherine in when Elvira's brother, Juan Manuel, a servant of Philip of Burgundy, promoted Philip's interests at the expense of those of Catherine's father. Elvira was told to leave England, and she departed on the pretext of visiting a doctor in Flanders about a disease that had already caused her to lose one of her eyes, but she knew that she would not be permitted to return.⁴⁴ She had alienated not only King Henry but also Catherine of Aragon. Elvira spent the rest of the life among Spanish exiles at the court of Flanders.

41 Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp. 157–58.

42 *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, book 3/288, 3/292, 4/282. She is referred to both by name and as “the Lady Mistress,” “Lady Mastres,” or “Lady Maystres.”

43 De la Torre y de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, p. 506.

44 Anne Crawford, ed., *Letters of the Queens of England* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 164–66.

In another case that drew attention to the tensions at court, Francesca de Caceres, who accompanied Catherine to England in 1501, relayed gossip about Catherine's confessor, Diego Fernandez, to the Spanish diplomats. An angry Catherine denounced Francesca, who took refuge with a Genoese banker named Grimaldi and married him.⁴⁵ Later, after 1513, Francesca (newly widowed) came to Catherine asked for her support to be placed in service to either Maria of Habsburg or Margaret of Savoy, but Catherine rejected the plea, saying that "She is so perilous a woman that it shall be dangerous to put her in a strange house."⁴⁶

A few other Spanish women at court stayed on after 1501 and appear infrequently in the sources, which suggests a less intimate relationship. Attendants in a royal court spent long hours together and carried out many intimate services which would have been inappropriate for male servants. They helped Catherine to dress, probably assisted her when she was ill, and later, pregnant, and accompanied her on travels. Much attention was paid to clothing and personal adornment, and women at court spent hours engaged in needlework, played cards, danced, sang, and played musical instruments. Catherine and her ladies "let call their mistrels, and with right goodly behavior and manner they solaced themselves with the disport of dancing."⁴⁷ María de Salazar, a lady originally part of Isabel's court in Castile who moved with Catherine to England, is mentioned in a letter to Fernando (after death of Isabel) from Catherine on 8 September 1505 who asks him to pay for her dowry so that she may marry the lord of Almería and order the return of property lost when her father died.⁴⁸ Katherine de Montoya (d. 1520) remained in England and appears in 1509 again among Catherine's ladies at the funeral of Henry VII on 11 May 1509, and was with the queen in France at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 (together with one woman servant). Attendance at a royal funeral is a clear marker of both rank and emotional importance to Catherine. Among the other mourners at funeral of Henry VII were "Dame Agnes Vanegas and Dame Maria de Gavara; Gentlewomen: Catalina Fortes, Maria Saleinas [Salinas], Juan de Quero's wife, Catalina Montaya; Chamberers [Maids in Waiting]: Catalina de Gavara, Isabel de Vanegas."⁴⁹

45 *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. Bergenroth, vol. 1, pp. 403-405, 407, 408.

46 *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. Henry Ellis, 4 vols. (London: 1846), vol. 1, pp. 80-82, 88-89.

47 Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 210-40.

48 Wood, ed., *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. 1, pp. 126-27.

49 *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 11-12.

Among the English ladies at court, two are prominent early in Catherine's life in England: Margaret Pole, duchess of Salisbury, and Jane Vaux Guildford. Margaret Pole (1473-1541) is by far the more well known for her vociferous opposition to the divorce and her execution in 1541. She was the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, the younger brother of King Edward IV who was accused of treason, attainted and executed in 1478. His misfortunes put her at risk, but she was intrepid, and by 1501 was back at court, in the good graces of Henry VII. She attended the wedding of Catherine and Arthur and accompanied them to Ludlow Castle. Her husband, Sir Richard Pole, Arthur's chamberlain and sheriff of Merioneth, died in 1505 and she was occupied with domestic work that kept her out of the public eye. She returned to court in 1509 and became one of Catherine's most trusted friends at court, Princess Mary's governess from 1525 to 1533, and stayed with Catherine until her death.⁵⁰ Jane Vaux Guildford was only tangentially part of Catherine's household until 1510 but she was a fixture at the wider royal court. Her family, led by her father, Thomas Vaux, navigated the political uncertainties of the later Wars of the Roses by supporting both the Lancastrian and Tudor families. Her mother was lady-in-waiting to Margaret of Anjou, and after Henry VII had come to the throne, his mother Margaret Beaufort raised her brother Nicholas to Lord Vaux. She and her husband, Sir Richard Guildford, controller of Henry VII's household, were a power couple at court. She was present at Elizabeth of York's coronation, served the queen, the king's mother, Margaret Beaufort, and both royal princesses. She was widowed in 1506, and for her loyalty and service to the royal family Henry VIII granted her an annuity of £60. Her only son, Henry, was a member of the king's privy chambers and Master of the Revels.⁵¹

The women at court formed part of a blended Spanish and English household that provided Catherine with companionship, friendship, loyalty, and someone close at hand who would get the jokes without a translator.⁵² They formed both a bridge between two realms and an intersection of social status. The wardrobe and household records reveal Queen Catherine of Aragon as a source of largesse that cultivated favor and goodwill at court and in the household. She supported her friends when they married, helped them to secure a

50 Pierce, *Margaret Pole*, pp. 28-55, 62, 89, 95-106.

51 Barbara Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 218.

52 For the way Catherine's blended identity affected her fashion and cultural patronage, see Maria Hayward, "Spanish Princess or Queen of England? The Image, Identity and Influence of Catherine of Aragon at the Courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII," in *Dressing the Spanish in the European courts (xvi and xvii centuries)*, eds Jose Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (Madrid, 2014), pp. 11-36.

dowry, and promoted their husbands in their political careers. The salary these women received, whether in coin or cloth, signified the depth and duration of a relationship.

Catherine and her court exemplify the range of possibilities that render queens as the “normal exceptions” to a monarchy that privileged male rule but also had ample room for women to be part of monarchy. The informal patronage system at court and the official salaries are the financial and symbolic power that represents the value of Catherine’s closest allies at court. The money paid was not merely an emblem of service or generosity, but was also linked to webs of reciprocity and obligation. Inés de Vanegas embodies the way that some women of middling rank could use service to the crown as a way to improve their social standing. They also show the complexity of national identity. María de Rojas suggests that for some women, the move to England was not permanent but it made her a more desirable wife of a Spanish grandee. Finally, María de Salinas fully acculturated as an English woman – one of her more prominent descendants today was Diana Spencer, first wife of Prince Charles of England – but maintained her deep loyalty to Catherine and was willing to risk her title and wealth in the service of the queen.

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There and Back Again: The Hospitality and Consumption of a Sixteenth-Century English Travelling Household*

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The travelling household was a common feature on the medieval European landscape. Large estate-owning lords would travel from residence to residence for a variety of reasons: business, tournaments and hunting, pilgrimages, visiting peers or superiors, and attending to their estates, or even a combination of these, and other reasons. Travelling was such a central feature of the noble lifestyle that Grace Stretton boldly described the medieval travelling household as “truly nomadic as the accepted nomads, and very much for the same reason”.¹ Much had changed by the sixteenth century. The elite household was travelling less and less, partly due to the steady increase in the cost of travel, food, and the general maintenance of a large household. Christopher Woolgar has argued that by the fourteenth century the crown was the only institution that could promote and maintain a courtly lifestyle of any size.² From the surviving household records for the early sixteenth century, this certainly appears to be the case. In 1507-8, John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford's total household expenditure was £1498.³ Some estimates for Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham's household expenditure amounts to £3478 for the year 1504; £1399 and 18s. for the last six months of 1517; £5048 and 1s. for the year 1518; £6286 and 18s. for 1519; and finally £7098 and 12s. for the year 1520.⁴ The increase in household expenditure in the last three years of Buckingham's life were due

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1 Grace Stretton, “The Travelling Household in the Middle Ages,” *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1935): 75-103.

2 Christopher Woolgar, *The Great Household of Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), p. 5.

3 James Ross, *John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1442-1513): “The Foremost Man of the Kingdom”* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 110.

4 Buckingham's household accounts ran from 1 April to 31 March until 1517 and from 1 October to 30 September after that. For 1504, see Staffordshire Record Office (hereafter SRO), D641/1/3/8; D641/1/3/7; London, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), SP1/22, ff. 66-88; British Library (hereafter BL), Add MS, 40859B. For 1517, see SRO, D641/1/3/9; TNA, E101/518/5, pt. 2. For 1518-

to “extraordinary personal and public events,” so should not be held as standard expenditure.⁵

In comparison, the surviving accounts for Henry VI's first reign indicate that the average yearly expenditure for the royal household was £14,283.⁶ By the end of the fifteenth century, the Exchequer estimated the cost of the yearly expenses for the royal household of Henry VII to be in the region of £14,365, 10s. 7d. with an extra £2100 for the expenses of the great wardrobe.⁷ Geoffrey Elton estimated that the total expenditure for the royal household of Henry VIII in 1532-3 was £26,750, a huge increase from the previous reign.⁸ Although it is difficult to compare Henry VII and Henry VIII because of the marked rise in prices during the latter's reign, it does demonstrate that the crown was spending a larger amount of money on the household than even the upper echelons of English society.⁹

Through the lens of one of the large noble households of the early Tudor period, that of the third Duke of Buckingham, this article will focus on the economics, consumption, and hospitality of a household on the move. Between 1491 and 1521, Edward Stafford kept immaculate records pertaining to his household. These records depict a proud Plantagenet lord living in an early Tudor world. On the surface, the accounts list the expenses of one of the wealthiest noblemen of the early sixteenth century, but they also hint at a distant relationship between monarch and subject. Not just any subject of the kingdom, Buckingham was a man who had a claim to the throne. He was the son of Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham and Katherine Woodville, whose sister was Queen Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV.

1520, see TNA E36/220. Also see Barbara Harris, *Edward Stafford, Third Duke of Buckingham, 1478-1521* (Stanford, 1986), p. 101-2 (especially table on p. 102).

- 5 Harris, *Edward Stafford*, p. 102. As Harris argues, in 1519, Buckingham's son married Ursula Pole, and the duke paid all the costs of the wedding except for the bride's dress. That year his daughter Mary also married George Lord Bergavenny. In August 1519, the king and his court visited Buckingham at Penshurst Place. Finally, in 1520, Buckingham accompanied the court during Charles V's visit to Canterbury, during the meeting with Francis I and the Field of Cloth of Gold, and during the second meeting between Henry and Charles at Gravelines.
- 6 Average based on the total yearly expenditure for the years 1441-2, 1443-4, 1446-7, 1450-1, 1451-2. See table in *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478*, ed. A.R. Myers (Manchester, 1959), p. 46. Original accounts can be found at TNA, E101/409/8; E101/409/9; E101/409/11; E101/409/16; E101/410/6; E101/410/9.
- 7 Myers, *The Household of Edward IV*, pp. 229-30.
- 8 Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 399.
- 9 For more information on inflation and the price rise on goods under Henry VIII, see Geoffrey R. Elton, *England under the Tudors*, 3rd ed. (London, 1991), chapter nine, “England during the Price Revolution.” especially pp. 225-27.

The third duke's connections to the new Tudor kings and his vast spread of landed wealth meant that he conducted himself as befitted his status. Buckingham began each household account with the proclamation: "the right high and mighty prynce, Edward duc of Bukyngham, erle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton".¹⁰ This bold manifesto was reflected to the world in the size and membership of his household and of the open hospitality given to guests.

Although Buckingham travelled to London on several occasions throughout this life, the most notable is his journey at the beginning of 1508, which was meticulously recorded in the *Buckingham Household Book* of 1507-8.¹¹ The *Buckingham Household Book* is unique because of the level of detail dedicated to the listing of those present at each meal, exactly what was consumed, and the expense of the food served.¹² Household books begin to survive from the late medieval and early modern period and continue to be produced well into the modern period as advice literature and a record keeping technique.¹³ These how-to guides were essential literature for those maintaining a household: they provided advice on management, structure, and formalities. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century household books tended to be more general and written for a wider audience, while those in the late medieval and early modern periods were usually written by and for a specific establishment. For example, the *Northumberland Household Book* of 1511-12 provides specifics on structure, rules, and protocols for Henry Algernon Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland's large household. The *Buckingham Household Book*, on the other hand, is a detailed account of daily expenditure on provisions under subheadings of the pantry, cellar, buttery, kitchen, chandlery, and stables. In the margins of the household book are listed the number of individuals in attendance for dinner and supper, the names of the principal guests and the number of their attendants, and where the meals were consumed. The book is written in a clerk-like hand in heavily abbreviated Latin and the entries are dated from 5 November 1507 to 22 March 1508.¹⁴

The household book is not the only record that survives for the duke's household. Over ten documents related to Buckingham's expenditures, estab-

10 See for example, SRO, D641/1/3/7; D641/1/3/8.

11 See below for more details on the book.

12 SRO, D1721/1/5.

13 *Early English Meals and Manners: John Russell's Boke of Nurture, Wýnkyn de Worde's Boke of Keruyng, The Booke of Curtasey*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London, 1868). This includes the nineteenth-century *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management: A Guide to Cookery in All Branches* (London, 1906), which was a guide to running a household in Victorian Britain, first published in 1861.

14 SRO, D1721/1/5.

lishment, and everyday structure are held at the Staffordshire Record Office.¹⁵ A few records came under the crown's hands after Buckingham's attainder in 1521 and can be found with the State Papers at The National Archives under the classification SP1/22. None of these documents have been published in their entirety, and only one, the *Household Book*, has had extracts published in the early nineteenth century in the journal *Archaeologia* by John Gage, director of the Society for Antiquaries of London from 1829 to 1842. From the *Household Book*, Gage chose "two or three [...] accounts which appear to have most interest."¹⁶ The entries that Gage found held the most interest to his readers were those for the extravagant feast days of Christmas, Epiphany, and the few days while the duke was travelling. Thus, the extracts left much to be desired.

It is the intention of this article to utilize the many records of the Duke of Buckingham, but primarily the household book, to explore the characteristics of a sixteenth-century travelling household and what the duke's travelling habits can tell us about interactions, economics, and consumption in early Tudor society. This article will argue that although Buckingham did not often travel to London, when he did, he met with people related to his estate management, in his familial network, and those who could provide influence for him at the early Tudor court. Therefore, hospitality was a key component in Buckingham's travel plans. Hosting large numbers of guests away from the main place of residence was an economic drain, but was seen as invaluable for the sixteenth-century English elite in forming friendships, alliances, and expanding influence. In addition, travelling posed many economic considerations for the lord, such as purchasing food on the open market, providing provisions for horses, locating places to stay the night, and even moving daily from place to place.

The travelling or riding household consisted of those who accompanied the lord when he was away from his *caput*, or main residence, and it was usually much smaller than his permanent household. Although Buckingham's riding household was indeed smaller than his resident one at Thornbury Castle in Gloucestershire, the extravagance and magnificence of the travelling household was still fit for his position as "the largest private landowner in the country."¹⁷ Buckingham's household book does not give detail on the exact organization of the riding household; however, we can glean just how formal and structured it was by examining the *Northumberland Household Book* from

15 The records are classified as SRO 641 and 1721 that contain the papers of the Stafford family from the eleventh to the seventeenth century.

16 John Gage, "Extracts from the Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham," *Archaeologia* 25 (1834): 316-27, on pp. 316-17.

17 Harris, *Edward Stafford*, p. 1.

1512. Not only was Henry Percy the earl of Northumberland, he was also Buckingham's brother-in-law, and possible direct or indirect influence can be seen in the two noblemen's household structure.¹⁸ In 1512 Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland commissioned the recording of the regulations and establishments of his household "at his castles of Wresill and Lekinfield in Yorkshire".¹⁹ This was not the first record of its kind and followed the structure of Edward IV's *Liber Niger* from the mid-fifteenth century. The *Northumberland Household Books* begins "[t]his booke of all Manner of Direccyones and Orders for Keapinge of my Lordes Hous."²⁰ The main function of any elite household was to promote and display the lord's status and wealth to the observer through everyday activities.

When the lord travelled from one residence to another, his household and its display of magnificence followed him with the strict regulations and ordinances as laid out in his household book. The *Northumberland Household Book* details the order in which people were to ride when travelling with the earl. The "shorte draught made of th'order of my Lordes servauntes of the Riding Householde" was to be followed "every tyme when my Lorde rides."²¹ According to the *Northumberland Household Book* there were four riding parties that accompanied the earl when he travelled. First, there was a party of five who rode ahead of the household in order to prepare the lodgings with each member of the party having a specific duty to attend to before the lord arrived. For example, the clerk of the kitchen was to "go befoire to se all thinges takyn in for the Offices against the Officers cuming," while a yeoman usher of the hall was for "herbigiours for my Lordes Servauntes."²² Second, there was the lord's baggage train. This group was comprised of one yeoman or groom porter for keeping the gates, one groom sumpter²³ with the baggage for the beds, and one groom sumpter for the baggage with the coffers. Third, there was a party that rode immediately before the lord. This party contained one yeoman of the cellar, marshals of the hall, one officer of arms, all other gentlemen, one gentleman usher of the chamber, one sewer for the lord, one carver for the

18 Henry Percy's sister, Eleanor Percy, married Edward Stafford in 1490.

19 Henry Percy, *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, at his Castles of Wresill and Lekinfield in Yorkshire* (London, 1827). Hereafter, *Northumberland Household Book*.

20 *Northumberland Household Book*, p. iii.

21 *Northumberland Household Book*, p. 153.

22 The other members of the party included a yeoman usher of the chamber, a groom of the chamber, and a yeoman or groom cook. *Northumberland Household Book*, p. 153.

23 A sumpter was someone who drove the pack-horses and was in charge of the baggage train.

lord, one cupbearer for the lord, and one chaplain for the lord. The fourth and final party was to attend to the lord and ride behind him. Those in the fourth party were a yeoman of the robes, a yeoman of the horse, a yeoman of the chamber, a yeoman of the pantry, a yeoman of the buttery, yeomen waiters, a groom of the chamber, a groom of the ewery, a clerk of the signet, a clerk of the foreign expenses, a groom of the wardrobe, a groom of the stirrup, and all other yeomen to ride behind the lord.²⁴ The details given in the *Northumberland Household Book* make clear that the riding or travelling household was just as controlled and organized as the resident household. From the regulations put in place by the fifth earl of Northumberland it is estimated that his riding household comprised approximately thirty-six individuals in c.1511-12.²⁵ The division and strict structure of the household was not a new phenomenon and can be seen in medieval households, especially in Edward IV's *Liber Niger* in which the household structure and each department's duties are spelled out.²⁶

In addition to the household structure, the list above gives a sense that the food was one of the most important aspects of the household. The vast majority of those travelling with the lord were responsible for various aspects of cooking, serving food, or structuring meals. For example, the gentlemen ushers of the chambers were not only responsible for the set-up and maintenance of the lord's chamber, but, according to the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV, they also had to serve the lord's table "all nyȝt" and ensure the lord never ran out of drink between meals.²⁷ Moreover, the order in which each party was to ride suggests a strict ordering and structure to the household officers' duties and responsibilities. The first party was chiefly concerned with preparing the residence, particularly the lord's chambers, for the arrival of everyone else. If the household was travelling away from demesne manors, the first party was responsible for securing the use of inns or temporary lodgings. Larger households, like that of Buckingham, had a harder time locating temporary accommodation while travelling. It was not uncommon for the highest status people to be housed within a lodge or inn, while those of the lower status in the household had to pitch tents outdoors when the indoor accommodation was full.²⁸ The *Buckingham Household Book* states the village or town where

24 *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 154-5.

25 *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 150-2, 291-6.

26 Myers, *The Household of Edward IV*.

27 Myers, *The Household of Edward IV*, pp. 114-5.

28 For example, see *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, ed. by Christopher M. Woolgar, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992-93), vol. 2, p. 678.

Buckingham stopped for meals, but not the actual property or estate. The estates listed in the valor of lands granted to Stafford's son, Henry Stafford, in 1521 and Buckingham's inquisition *post mortem* do not match any of the towns in which the duke stayed in 1508.²⁹

The second party, discussed above, very much followed along these same lines as the baggage train; they carried all the bedding, clothes, and other furniture that would be transported from residence to residence. The third party consisted of household members concerned with food and drink with the marshal of the hall among them. The marshal of the hall had the great responsibility of seating arrangements in the great hall and great chamber. According to John Russell, a mid-fifteenth-century marshal of the hall to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and author of *The Boke of Nurture*, the marshal "must know alle estates of the church goodly and greable, and þe excellent estate of a kynge with his blode honourable: hit is a notable nurture / connynge, curyouse, and commendable".³⁰ Seating arrangements were strictly by rank and status, and if the marshal of the hall did not have a comprehension of guests' ranks he could embarrass the lord and anger a guest. The fourth party that rode with and immediately behind the lord consisted of one servant per department in the riding household along with the clerk of foreign expenses.³¹ The final party demonstrates the importance of continuing to display the magnificence of the lord, while minimizing expense by cutting down on the total number of people in the household.

The *Buckingham Household Book* lists those who ate on the duke's expense for each meal. Although the number of people in the travelling household was smaller than Buckingham's resident household, he was still feeding a large number of people on his expenses. Buckingham's resident household at Thornbury in 1507-8 was much bigger and averaged 157 people present at both the midday meal (*prandium*) and supper (*cena*). That same year in London, Buckingham was eating with a much smaller number of people, with sixty-five people on average at dinner and forty-nine at supper.³² Travelling households were almost always smaller due, in many ways, to logistics. Fewer people kept the expenditure on food down, lessened the cost of travelling, and allowed the entourage to move more quickly from one place to another.

Economically, the biggest cost incurred by the travelling household was the large number of animals that accompanied them on their journey. The rise in

29 TNA, SC 11/1018; SRO, D1810, f. 217

30 BL, Harley MS 4011, f. 186

31 Foreign expenses did not just mean expenditure while abroad; the clerk was responsible for any expenses away from the lord's main seat of residence.

32 SRO, D1721/1/5. Also see Table 3 in Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 17.

food prices and the availability of grain on the open market had major effects on the ability of a travelling lord to be escorted by a large entourage. Under the stable heading of the *Buckingham Household Book* the horses are divided into two sub-categories. The first category lists the horses that are being used by the duke and those that pulled the baggage train. The second category lists the horses that are being used by members of the household, although those members are not named. The first category had a total of 28 horses, including four courser horses,³³ eight hobby horses,³⁴ three sumpter or pack horses, one mail- or bag-horse, seven carriage horses, four hackney horses,³⁵ and one horse for a yeoman and a groom to ride.³⁶ The total amount of expenditure for each day is slightly different, although the number of horses stays the same at twenty-eight. The average expenditure per day was 12s. 4d. In the second category of household horses there was a total of fifty-nine. Each horse was given an allowance of 4d. per day, making a total of 19s. 8d. per day for the household horses. This means there was an average of £1 and 12s. spent on all the horses per day.³⁷ The duke and his household were away from Thornbury for thirty-one days, which means they spent approximately £49 and 12s. on horses for the whole trip. This is no small sum, especially spent over the course of a month just on provisions for the horses.

Table 15.1 below details the route, dates, and meals of Buckingham's trip. During the whole thirty-one-day trip, there were only two meals that were not recorded: on 30 January dinner was not recorded, and on 27 February dinner is again not recorded in the book. There are two main possibilities for the absence of those meals. The first is that it was a fasting day; as both unrecorded meals were at midday, so it might suggest that Buckingham was fasting during the day and ate only supper in the evening. The second possibility is that Buckingham enjoyed someone else's hospitality and therefore, did not purchase any food for those particular meals. It is also worth noting that Buckingham did not take the same route back to Thornbury. Instead of going through Newbury and "Brainford" (Brentford), the duke stopped in Maidenhead and Hungerford. This might have been a tactical decision by the duke to visit specific people or places, or to avoid badly damaged roads.

33 A courser is a swift and strong horse frequently used in the Middle Ages as a warhorse, usually ridden by knights and men-at-arms.

34 Hobbies were lightweight and small horses that could travel long distances.

35 Hackneys were common riding horses, also referred to as palfreys.

36 Taken from SRO, D1721/1/5. The horses are listed in the order of their value. I owe this observation to Sunny Harrison, who kindly pointed this out to me.

37 SRO, D1721/1/5.

TABLE 15.1 *Date and location of each recorded meal, Stafford's 1508 trip to and from London*

Date	Place	Meal (<i>prandium</i> or <i>cena</i>)
28 January	"Chipnam" (Chippenham)	Mid-day meal and supper
29 January	"Marleborough" (Marlborough)	Mid-day meal
29 January	Newbury	Supper
30 January	Reading	Supper (no mid-day meal is recorded for 30 January)
31 January	Colbroke (Colbroke)	Mid-day meal
31 January	"Brainford" (Brentford)	Supper
1-2 February	Richmond	Mid-day meal and supper
3 February	Richmond	Mid-day meal
3 February	Brainford	Supper
4 February	London	Mid-day meal and supper
5-6 February	Richmond	Mid-day meal and supper
7 February	Richmond	Mid-day meal
7 February	London	Supper
8-24 February	London & Richmond (goes between these two location frequently)	Mid-day meal and supper
25 February	Colbroke	Mid-day meal
26 February	"Maydunhed"	Supper
27 February	Reading	Supper (no midday meal is recorded for 27 February)
27 February	Hungerford	Mid-day meal
28 February	"Marleborough"	Supper
28 February	"Chipnam"	Mid-day meal
29 February	Thornbury	Supper

By mapping the route that the duke and his household took to and from London, the average mileage can be ascertained. On average the household travelled seventeen miles. As the household drew closer to London the mileage grew smaller, travelling approximately seven miles per day between Richmond and London. It is difficult to know why the mileage decreased near London, but Buckingham did appear to be entertaining more guests the closer he got to the capital. There is no indication of when or exactly where Buckingham stayed each day, although the household book does indicate the town he ate in. For instance, on 29 January 1508 the duke travelled from Chippenham to Marlborough, roughly twenty miles, where he had a meal by mid-afternoon, after which he travelled to Newbury, roughly fifteenth miles, where he ate supper in the evening. Specific times for meals are not given in most household

accounts; however, Robert Fitzrauf, one of Sir John Fastolf's gentlemen, in November 1459 had an hour, between 11 am and 12 noon for a mid-day meal.³⁸ With that being said, the timing of meals changed depending on the season, the location, and other circumstances such as travelling.

From the locations where Buckingham stopped during his journey, the road network he used can be pieced together. The routes that a household might take are known from a handful of medieval maps, particularly the Gough Map, the maps of Matthew Paris, and the remaining Roman road system that was still being used at this time.³⁹ Buckingham did not appear to use a Roman road for the majority of his journey, at least until he was closer to London. The Marlborough Road, which was later called Newbury Street and was sometimes referred to as the King's Street,⁴⁰ follows the route that the duke took from Gloucestershire to London.⁴¹ The difficulties in knowing the condition of the road system in Tudor England are due to the sources. Literary accounts bemoan the quality of the roads. William Harrison, for example, described the "common highways" with their "clay or cledgy soil" as "deep and troublesome in the winter."⁴² Buckingham was travelling in some of the harshest months of the year – January and February – so the roads might have resembled Harrison's description. Repairs and maintenance of the roads fell on the shoulders of the local parish, but the condition of the roads must have been deteriorating in the early sixteenth century because legislation was introduced in 1555 and 1562 to try to deal with repairs and the upkeep of road surfaces.⁴³ So although Buckingham did not use a main road for most of his journey to and from London, his daily average of seventeen miles suggests that the roads were in fairly good

38 *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Davis, 2 vols (Oxford, 1971-2), 2:548.

39 E.J.S. Parsons, *The Map of Great Britain circa AD 1360 known as the Gough Map: An Introduction to the Facsimile* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 2-15; J.B. Mitchell, "Early Maps of Great Britain: The Matthew Paris Maps", *Geographical Journal*, 81 (1933): 27-34; F.M. Stenton, "The Road System of Medieval England," *Economic History Review* 7 (1936-7): 1-21; B.P. Hindle, "The Road Networks of Medieval England and Wales", *Journal of Historical Geography* 2 (1976): 207-21.

40 Referred to as the King's Street because it skirted the boundary of the Savernake Forest that belonged to the crown.

41 *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, ed. by R.B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall, 18 vols (London, 1953), vol. 4, pp. 417-23.

42 William Harrison, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life*, ed. by George Edelen (Washington, DC, 1968; rptd 1994), p. 444.

43 Acts of Parliament, 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8, *The Statutes of the Realm*, eds A. Luders and J. Raithby, 9 vols (London, 1810-28), vol. 4, pp. 284-85. The Highway Act of 1555 was amended slightly in 1562 and again in 1575-6.

condition, especially considering the number of people and horses in his entourage.

Buckingham was not accompanied by the household only. He entertained peers, estate managers, family members, and people seeking patronage. Hospitality was a quintessential part of elite culture in early Tudor England. In most cases hospitality was dispensed by an individual household with the responsibility of hosting placed on the lord alone.⁴⁴ The lord and host must be generous, charitable, and open with his entertainment. Throughout the household accounts for the third duke, his hospitality for guests is clear. For most of Buckingham's 1508 journey he ate with fifty-eight people, consisting of twenty gentlemen servants, nine yeomen, and twenty-nine grooms. It was not until 31 January in Brentford when twenty-three gentlemen, fourteen yeoman, and twenty-nine grooms ate supper with him, a total of sixty-six. There are also two named individuals present at supper: a Lord Fitzwalter and a Sir Rowland Carr, along with three strangers who are not named. Although it is not possible to identify Sir Rowland Carr, the other guest, Lord Fitzwalter, is most likely Robert Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, and later first earl of Sussex, who married one of Buckingham's sisters in 1505.⁴⁵ Fitzwalter appeared to spend much of his time at London in the court of the early Tudor kings, thus making him a good contact for Buckingham who did not spend long stretches in London.⁴⁶

Supper with lords Fitzwalter and Rowland is recorded as including thirty-six loaves of bread (18s.), seven pitchers and one pint of Gascony wine (4s. 11d.), 16 flagons of ale (4s. 4d.), three sheep (6s.), one lamb (16d.), one pig (6d.), one pheasant (6d.), one partridge (4d.), one capon (18d.), five fowls (23d.), two rabbits (6d.), fifteen chickens (20d.), seven dishes of butter (7d.), unspecified number of eggs (4d.), white salt (1d.), oatmeal (1d.), herbs (1d.), mutton (3d.), four pounds of candles (6d.), and forty-two faggots (3s. 6d.) with supper costing a grand total of £2, 6s. 11d., not including the cost of the horses.⁴⁷ Though it does not appear that Buckingham hosted a large crowd of high-status individuals, he still spent a substantial amount for one meal. The importance of

44 Felicity Heal, "The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England," *Past & Present* 102 (1984): 66-93.

45 He was a prominent courtier and soldier under Henry VII and Henry VIII. See David Grummitt, 'Radcliffe, Robert, first earl of Sussex (1482/3-1542)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2013 <<http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/view/article/22991>>, accessed 6 Aug 2015.

46 For Buckingham's turbulent relationship with the early Tudor kings, especially Henry VIII, see Harris, *Edward Stafford*, pp. 149-179.

47 SRO, D1721/1/5, f. 83. See above for more detail on the cost and number of horses that accompanied Buckingham on his travels.

entertaining Lord Fitzwalter, Buckingham's brother-in-law, was a familial and influential one. Hospitality can be seen in the gift-giving framework; by providing someone with a meal and entertainment, especially a peer, there was a certain expectation of reciprocity. The return gift did not necessarily have to be tangible, but might come in the form of loyalty and allegiance or looking out for Buckingham at the royal court.

Further evidence from the guest list demonstrates that Buckingham was dining with business partners associated with his numerous estates scattered across England. On 4 February 1508, dinner was served to 35 gentlemen, 38 yeomen, and 27 grooms, a total of 100 servants. Several other guests are listed by name and the number of servants accompanying them: Robert Turberville⁴⁸ with three servants; John Scot⁴⁹ with two; Sir Thomas Phillipps, chaplain; Edward Garth⁵⁰ with two; John Burrell with one; William Wright; Henry Gervis; Robert Redall; two unnamed officers from the King's Court; Humphrey Blount⁵¹ with two; Llewelyn Morgan⁵² with two; Miles Vaughan⁵³ with two;

48 Robert Turberville was a lawyer who held a variety of different positions within Buckingham's household including the position of treasurer of the household from an unknown date to 1502. He was steward of the household and receiver general from 1503-8; an itinerant judge in Brecon in 1503, he was involved in many suits for debt on Buckingham's behalf. He received an annuity of 5 marks from 1509-21, and was a knight of the shire. See Carole Rawcliffe, *The Staffords: Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 230; T.B. Pugh, *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536: Select Documents* (Cardiff, 1963), p. 297.

49 John Scot was a lawyer and attorney general for Buckingham from 1498-1515, a councilor for the duke from 1501; itinerant justice in Brecon in 1503; park warden of Bletchingley, Surrey from 1505-6; keeper of South Park, Surrey from 1520-21. A farmer of Camberwell and Peckham in Surrey, and a member of the Middle Temple, he was granted the office of chief baron of exchequer in reversion but never obtained possession. He was also one of the jurors who indicted Buckingham in 1521; after the trial he was granted Camberwell and Peckham in Surrey from the king. See SRO, D1721/1/1; Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, pp. 228-9; Pugh, *The Marcher Lordships*, pp. 296-97.

50 Edward Garth was a receiver for Kent and Surrey from at least 1512 to 1515. See Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 212.

51 A receiver of Newport in the year 1500. See Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 214.

52 A Llewelyn ap Morgan was a receiver of Brecon until Michaelmas 1512, when he left the office with an unpaid deficit of £64. The royal council minutes for 12 April 1514 record that the Master of the Rolls himself was to examine certain of Stafford's witnesses because of serious objections put forward by the defendant, a Llewelyn ap Morgan. See Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 171. For the council minutes, see BL, Lansdowne MS 639, f. 92.

53 Although unable to identify a Miles Vaughan, the Vaughan family was a prominent gentry family in Wales and it would seem likely that the family played a role in Buckingham's household or estate management in Wales.

William Walwyn⁵⁴ with three; John Edwards; Thomas Picker; Lord Henry Stafford⁵⁵ with four; Sir Barnes, William Knyvet,⁵⁶ with two of his sons;⁵⁷ and two unnamed city constables, and a total of thirty-five unnamed strangers, making the grand total of guests 107.⁵⁸ Of the named guests who can be identified, they appear to have some relation to his household or his family. Those in his household all maintained and managed estates that were closer to London than to Thornbury, and therefore the meal might have been a business dinner, whereby those associated with estate management would bring the rents they collected. By travelling a shorter distance to meet with Buckingham it minimized their travel and time and, more importantly, their travel expenses.

The economic expense of serving such a large group of people was huge. However, the value that the duke placed on such meetings far outreached the economic output. Buckingham served 101.5 loaves of bread (2s. 9¾d.), two and a half pitchers of Gascony wine (5s. 3d.), one pitcher of "Rhenish" wine (10d.), one quart of "Malvoisey" (3d.) which we are told went only to Buckingham's table, fifteen flagons and three quarts of ale (18d.), nineteen flagons and one

54 William Walwyn was a lawyer, auditor general for Buckingham's estates from 1507-21, councilor for the duke from 1518-19, a member of Lincoln's Inn, a crown auditor for south Wales, and helped bring actions for debt on the duke's behalf. See *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books*, 6 vols (London, 1896), 4:30; Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 231.

55 Lord Henry Stafford could refer to two individuals. Henry Stafford, first earl of Wiltshire was Edward Stafford's younger brother, or Edward Stafford's son who, in 1508, was seven years old. Since Lord Stafford is not mentioned again in the accounts it seems more plausible that the reference was to Edward Stafford's brother not his son. His brother seemed to spend a large amount of time in London with the king. He was favored under both Henry VII and Henry VIII, although spent a small amount of time in the Tower of London for treason (released without charges) when Henry VIII first took the throne. Dockray has argued that Henry Stafford enjoyed Henry VIII's favor after his release from the Tower as he shared the king's "taste for lavish entertainments, tournaments, and hunting." See Keith Dockray, "Stafford, Henry, earl of Wiltshire (c. 1479-1523)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; online edn, May 2006 <<http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/view/article/70804>>, accessed 7 Aug 2015.

56 This might be the same William Knyvet, or Knevet (d. 1515) who married Lady Joan Stafford, daughter of Humphrey Stafford, first Duke of Buckingham, with whom he had three daughters and three sons. He was the high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1471 and 1480. He was also a chamberlain and councilor for Buckingham for £36 and 10s. per annum; he was a retainer for the second Duke of Buckingham and involved in the failed rebellion in 1483. See Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 227; *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, 10 vols (Woodbridge, 2005), vol. 6, p. 254.

57 His two sons were Edward and Edmund Knyvett.

58 SRO, D1721/1/5.

quart of beer (19*d.*), three dry lings (2*s.*), five salt cods (17½*d.*), four hard fish (20*d.*), twenty-five little whittings (12*d.*), two jowls of fresh salmon (5*s.* 4*d.*), seventeen rochets (2*s.* 10*d.*), three “gurnets” (2*s.*), half a fresh conger (2*s.* 6 *d.*), one little “brete” (2*s.*), two dogfish (2*s.* 8*d.*), twenty-five roaches (8*d.*), twenty-five lampreys (4*d.*), shrimps (2*d.*), onions (1*d.*), oysters (2*d.*), six dishes of butter (6 *d.*), twelve white salt herrings (2*d.*), herbs (1*d.*), eight pounds of candles (11¾*d.*); and for fuel, sixteen “shides of talewood” (8*d.*), twenty-six faggots (16*d.*), two hundred billets (32*s.*), and four quarters and three bushels of charcoal (18½*d.*). This was all for a grand total of £3, 14*s.* 4½*d.* 4 February 1508 was a Friday, and indeed, the lack of meat and abundant selection of fresh and salted fish testifies that it was a fast day. The variety of fresh and salted fish was a relatively standard feast for a meatless meal for sixteenth-century elite, though Buckingham does have an impressive array of fresh fish available, which spoke of his wealth.⁵⁹

Comparatively, providing hospitality while on the road was substantially more for the duke than eating a similar meal while at Thornbury Castle. For example, at dinner on 10 December 1507 there were 122 servants present including 42 gentlemen, 34 yeomen, and 38 grooms. On top of this number were eight unnamed gentlemen, 24 strangers, and those who were named included the Lady Anne⁶⁰ with twelve servants, Sir George with two servants, Henry Blunt, two skinners, one tailor, the embroiderer with two men, one bondman, one man from Bristol, two from the town and one from the country.⁶¹ For a total of 182 people the duke served 125 loaves of bread (3*s.* 6*d.*), 3 pitchers of Gascony wine (12*d.*), forty-eight flagons of ale (4*s.*), one dry ling (13*d.*), twelve salt cods (3*s.*), ten hard fish (20*d.*), half a salt conger eel (6*d.*), thirty white salt herrings (3*d.*), one great fresh cod (12*d.*), twelve whittings (4*d.*), one dogfish (16*d.*), six breams (8*d.*), one great eel (12*d.*), eleven roaches (4*d.*), two sticks of eel (8*d.*), 200 oysters (4*d.*), eight dishes of butter (8*d.*), thirty eggs (3*d.*), onions (1*d.*), herbs (1*d.*), eighteen pounds of candles (18*d.*), sixteen “sises” (2½*d.*), one

59 For other sixteenth-century households, see Mark Dawson, *Plenti and Grase: Food and Drink in a Sixteenth-Century Household* (Totnes, 2009), p. 222.

60 Lady Anne Hastings (née Stafford), countess of Huntingdon was the daughter of Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham and Edward Stafford's older sister. She was married to Sir Walter Herbert and George Hastings, first earl of Huntingdon, and served in the household of Henry VIII's daughter, Princess Mary, later Mary I. Edward Stafford was very close to his siblings and was deeply involved in their lives. Anne's first husband died in 1507, and the control of her jointure was given to Edward until her second marriage to George Hastings in 1509. See Barbara Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 144-5.

61 SRO, D1721/1/5.

pricket ($\frac{3}{4}d.$), three loads of fuel (3s.) and four quarters of charcoal (16d.).⁶² The grand total for the meal came to £1, 7s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}d.$ Not only did the meal in London on 4 February cost more than double the meal at Thornbury, but it fed less than half the number of people.

One reason for the sharp increase in food prices while travelling might be oat prices on the open market. Christopher Woolgar has argued that although oats were a common crop on demesnes throughout England, they tended not to be cultivated for sale, but for the consumption of the immediate household.⁶³ This, in turn, meant that the amount available on the market was relatively small. The sudden and substantial demands of the travelling household made the available oats rise in price and become more difficult to buy. Oats could be used for both animals and humans, so the demand for it would be particularly high if the travelling household had a large accompanying entourage like that of Buckingham. The expense of meat might have also caused concern for the duke, as evidence from a trip to London in 1501 by Buckingham indicates that he had livestock available at his London residence, or very nearby. The household accounts show he hired a butcher and a slaughterhouse in Southwark to turn his animals into fresh beef and mutton.⁶⁴ By transporting livestock from Thornbury Castle it saved the duke from being controlled by the market prices and availability of certain meat, while supplying his table with fresh meat.

One way in which Buckingham attempted to cut spending was by serving less extravagant meals when he was not entertaining any guests. For example, at dinner at Newbury on Sunday 30 January, he ate with sixty-three of his servants and no guests. The meal consisted of thirty-three loaves of bread (16 $\frac{1}{2}d.$), two pitchers of Gascony wine (16d.), fifteen flagons of ale (3s. 9d.), one quarter of beef (4s. 4d.), veal (2s. 8d.), two pigs (12d.), two capons (14d.), two rabbits (16d.), one curlew (5d.) nine redshanks (6d.), five dishes of butter (5d.), eggs (4d.) herbs and oatmeal (2d.), twenty-eight faggots (2s. 4d.).⁶⁵ The total amount of money spent on this meal was 19s. 9d., which was a much smaller amount than the more extravagant meals Buckingham hosted. As there were no guests dining with Buckingham, it may have been a smaller and simpler meal for just the duke and those accompanying him in his household.

Evidence from the meals that Buckingham served testify to the change in diets of the elite in the sixteenth century, especially – at least in Buckingham's case – at feasts and banquets. An example of this is 6 September 1501, when the

62 SRO, D1721/1/5.

63 Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 183.

64 TNA, E101/546/18, ff. 42r, 67r.

65 SRO, D1721/1/5.

duke entertained the Burgundian ambassadors at his house in Queenhithe in London. The account for the meal records five pheasants, twelve partridges, two dozen chicks, six capons, twelve rabbits, three dozen small birds, furmenty, two gallons of milk, a hundred eggs, twelve dishes of butter, two gallons of cream, three gallons of curd, twenty calves feet, one shoulder of veal for making *le gely*, together with pears, spices and filberts.⁶⁶ This feast along with the others mentioned above have a noteworthy lack of pork, beef or mutton. This pattern appears to be typical of Buckingham's foreign accounts while he is in London. In 1501, Buckingham's riding household consumed one and a half pigs and two piglets in a period of six months.⁶⁷ Woolgar has calculated that in Buckingham's resident household for the years 1503-4, pork formed 1.8 per cent of all the meat consumed.⁶⁸ This might not have been atypical for early sixteenth-century households, as the instructions given by the earl of Northumberland and his council for the provisioning of the household in 1511 indicates a similar pattern. The projected consumption included twenty-five pigs amounting to only 50 shillings spent on pork, compared to £86, 5s. 4d. to be spent on beef and a total of £68 12s. 2d. to be spent on mutton. There were other restrictions on the food supplied and served. Capons, for example, were only to be served to the lord and, if there were guests, to the chamberlain and steward, perhaps to indicate their status among the household servants. Hens and pigeons were only to be served in the messes of the lord, the chamberlain and steward; plovers were only to be had at Christmas and were reserved for the lord and those sitting at his board-end; cranes, reserved for Christmas and other major feasts, were for the lord's mess alone, likewise heronsews⁶⁹ and mallards, woodcocks and seventeen other types of birds.⁷⁰

The pressure of hospitality for the early modern elite could be a real drain on economic resources, but not sufficiently providing for one's household was a great insult. According to Andrew Boorde in his *A Compendyous Regyment or A Dyetary of Helth* from 1542:

better it is not to set up a howseholde or hospitalyte, than to set up a housholde, lackynge the performacyon of it, as nowe to ron for malt, and by-and-by for salt, nowe to sende for breade, and by-and-by to sende for

66 TNA, E101/546/18, f. 65. See also Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 133.

67 Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 133.

68 SRO, D641/1/3/8. Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 133.

69 Originally it referred to a young heron.

70 *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 5-6, 102-7.

a shepes-heade [...] such thynges is no prouisyon, but it is a great abusyon.⁷¹

Not only did a person need the money to purchase provisions, but they also needed the staff to obtain the goods from them. Both factors appeared to be unproblematic for Buckingham. It is interesting that the *Household Book* did not list the purchasing of grains, but instead lists the number of bread loaves served. This might indicate that Buckingham was provisioning some or most of the ingredients from his own land. Although there is no direct evidence that the duke was doing this, it was not uncommon for larger households to supply as much as they could from their own farms or livestock.⁷² At Thornbury there is evidence to suggest that Buckingham used at least one of his parks for fish farming and husbandry. Reference is given to the herbage and pannage “goodly and plenteous” within the “Newe Park” at Thornbury in the 1521 attainder’s survey.⁷³ The survey goes on to testify that the herbage and pannage “by estimacon will make yerely v. marks towards the kepars wages.”⁷⁴ This seems to indicate that there was possibly a profit to be made within the parks. Herbage and pannage usually referred to the undergrowth that was eaten by livestock, and it might suggest that Buckingham was selling the excess for a profit. We are also told that the New Park had ‘xiii proper poundes well waterd with a spring being enclosed with a pale.’⁷⁵ It would make sense that Buckingham kept ready supplies near his main residence as he tended to live there for the most part of any given year.

Buckingham’s reliance on the purchasing of food throughout his journey to and from London suggests firstly that he was most likely staying in his own properties; if he had stayed with peers, the host would have entertained Buckingham and his household, and thus meals would not have needed to be recorded in his household book. Secondly, on a few occasions in the household book it states “of the Lord’s store,” meaning that some residences at which Buckingham stayed during his trip had a supply of food that he did not need to buy on the open market. The vast majority of the food coming from “the Lord’s store” was salted fish, and the second most common was wine. Food and drink

71 Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment or a dyetary of healthe* [...] (London, 1542), under chapter v, “Chapyter doth shewe howe a man shulde ordre his house,” unnumbered page.

72 For direct evidence from other families, see Dawson, *Plenti and Grase*, pp. 60-4.

73 TNA E36/150, m. 19.

74 TNA E36/150, m. 20.

75 TNA E 36/150, m. 20.

items that could be saved for consumption at a later date were clearly stored at Buckingham's many properties awaiting his travelling household. The household accounts only tell part of the story. It is difficult to know whether Buckingham brought supplies with him, as they would not have been purchased and therefore would not need to be listed on the account. However, household accounts and books like that of the *Buckingham Household Book* provide valuable information about the transitional period between the late medieval and early modern.

Travelling households in the sixteenth century might not have been as nomadic as Stretton's statement noted at the beginning of this article, but Buckingham was still expected to journey to London several times a year for business. During these travels, hospitality was a key component, whether it was Buckingham who was providing hospitality to members of his household, to people maintaining his estates, or to members of his extended family, or whether Buckingham was the one receiving hospitality from his peers, perhaps even from the king when the duke was at court. Throughout the 1508 journey to London, the duke can be seen to be nurturing and preserving friendships, alliances, and connections to court through the act of hospitality. The openness of meals to guests did get expensive, and the *Buckingham Household Book* gives hints that lords were attempting to off-set the cost of travel by limiting their entourage, using food and drink from their store houses, and renting various household needs such as napery and a slaughterhouse. Buckingham must have felt that supplying his guests with an extensive array of food was a sound investment for future relationships, particularly if the men were responsible for collecting rents for the duke on his properties. It was an investment that he hoped would yield a profit in the future.

The duke was neither self-sufficient, nor was he completely reliant on local markets, and the records demonstrate just how important the land – the parks, gardens, fish ponds – were for supplying a large household. It would appear that the supply of goods was based on location, and while the duke was away from his main residence he purchased items that could be supplied from the landscape when he was at Thornbury. Buckingham's trip to London also shows an economic and dietary change happening in the early sixteenth century. The importance of fish, fresh and salted, cannot be denied for fast days. Economically, the travelling household was an expensive undertaking for a lord. The profits, whether tangible or not, needed to outweigh the expenditure. For Buckingham, his trips to London appeared to be for business reasons. His extravagant lifestyle depended on his estate managers' collections from his tenants. That being said, if the business meeting fell on a fast day, Buckingham was not going to serve an expensive meal with a variety of meats, and this was

not an uncommon feature for a sixteenth-century household demonstrating the importance of being a pious lord.

Buckingham's relationship with Henry VII was a precarious one, and perhaps this can be seen in the guest lists in the *Buckingham Household Book*. The duke rarely travelled to London compared to some of his peers, and the records show that on the two trips in 1501 and 1508, Buckingham did not meet with the king over a meal. Hosting the king while in London would have been a great honor and a chance for Buckingham to gain favor from the king. This is not to say that Buckingham and the king did not meet while they were both in London, but there is no evidence to suggest that they dined together. Buckingham's general absence in London and in the presence of the king supports the evidence that suggests that Buckingham was rarely at Privy Council meetings, Parliament, and the general decision-making taking place at Henry's court.⁷⁶

For Buckingham, travelling to and from London was primarily about meeting with those involved in his own estate management and fostering familial networks and not about participating in the governance of England. This shows the vast network of those whom the duke employed, and his need to outsource property management to men who lived near to the estate. It also speaks of a mutual bond between these men. The meals had a sense of openness and extravagance that the estate officials could enjoy on Buckingham's expense. In return, they were expected to serve the duke loyally and bring him his collected rents and fees. Guests who were not already apart of Buckingham's extensive clientele network tended to be family or known associates. Buckingham clearly knew that providing a meal for someone was a sign of goodwill, as hospitality was seen as a symbol of friendship and generosity.

Patterns of consumption for the travelling household show that meat, fish, bread, and alcohol (wine, ale, beer) were the main foods consumed, but were certainly not the only ones. Dairy was significant, both in terms of butter and eggs; cheese is not mentioned while travelling, but might have been a dish eaten while at Thornbury. It is not possible to establish the role of fruit and vegetables simply due to their lack of presence in the records. Residences tended to have orchards and vegetables gardens, so if eaten directly from the residential gardens they would not have been recorded in an account. Although Buckingham does on occasion buy large amounts of onions, it is difficult to know exactly what these are for, though they were probably used for pottage, if that was served. Ultimately, the extensive records related to Buckingham's household are an untapped treasure trove, rich with information on elite

76 For more on Buckingham's lack of attendance in major political decisions, see Harris, *Edward Stafford*, pp. 149-179.

consumption, household structures, and the relationships between lord, servant, and even king.

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The Households of Portuguese *infantes* in the Avis Dynasty: Formation and Autonomy of Alternative Centers of Power in the Sixteenth Century

Hélder Carvalhal

Introduction

The objective of this essay is to discuss the political role of the seigniorial households of the Portuguese *infantes* (princes) during the sixteenth century, taking into account the degree of autonomy progressively acquired by these individuals and by their respective entourages. In particular, I will explore how these institutions are related to the Crown and other nobility. This dimension is characterized by periods when the existence of inter-institutional cooperation is verified, intermixed with episodes of conflict between them. It is assumed, therefore, that there are situations in which the households of the *infantes* declare their will to collaborate with the diverse political projects of the monarchy. On other occasions, it is clear that these households carried out projects of their own, which often resulted in the Crown attempting to control them.

I will argue in this paper that the households of the *infantes* were relevant in the territorial and political control of the kingdom during the first half of sixteenth century, namely in the balance of power between nobility and the Crown. Factors such as the existence of a web of interpersonal relationships between the titled nobility or a policy of resource redistribution between the central government and the latter helped the monarchy to control the destination and reproduction of its members, and thus avoided an even greater degree of political division. The use of a wide range of resources granted by the Crown gradually gave the households of the *infantes* significant potential to attract clientele and, thus, a considerable degree of competitiveness with the other noble households. Then, I will address several issues associated with the formation and composition of the households of the *infantes* while integrating them into the historiography of the evolution of the royal households and courts. I will then turn to the emergence of the entourages of the Manueline *infantes* within the royal household to clarify the origin of the households of the respective individuals that coincides with a period of progressive

emancipation from the Crown. Finally, I will evaluate certain variables displayed by these households – resources, patronage, composition of respective entourages – and assess their importance to the balance of the political forces regarding the Portuguese monarchy in this period.

Historiography and the Problem

The formation and development of the households of the *infantes* pose an issue that I will tackle in two ways: first, as part of the development of the court as a political institution during the medieval and modern period, and second, in the context of the emergence of the proto-state forms of government in pre-contemporary Europe.¹ The subject has been discussed regularly by historians since Elias's classic thesis. His model, based on royal centralization amid the gradual loss of autonomy of the aristocratic power, has generated strong criticism in recent decades.² Many of these commentaries discuss the relationship between the monarchy and nobility. One matter of importance is the existence of a reciprocity between both parties. This reciprocity was of fundamental importance for the rule of the respective pre-modern political units, which challenges the premise of the royal court being a center of domestication of the nobility. This perspective was centered on the existence of a model with a plurality of courts, where princely and noble households replicated the royal domestic model of governance on the periphery, as well as in the participation of the nobility at the political center.³

On the other hand, the existence of intense debates about the role of the royal court and household in the government of the European kingdoms dur-

1 The historiography of the early modern court and government is substantial. See John Adamson, "The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court, 1500-1700," in ed. John Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual, Politics, and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750* (London, 2000), pp. 7-41.

2 Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (Frankfurt/Main, 1969; English trans., Oxford, 1983). Many of Elias's ideas were debated in Jeroen Duindam, "Versailles, Vienna and Beyond: Changing Views of Household and Government in Early Modern Europe," in eds Jeroen Duindam, Tulay Artan, and Metin Kunt, *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires. A Global Perspective* (Leiden, 2011) pp. 401-31.

3 Mafalda Soares da Cunha, "Nobreza, rivalidade e clientelismo na primeira metade do século xvi. Algumas reflexões," *Penélope* 29 (2003): 33-48; Ronald G. Asch, "Introduction: Court and Household from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," in eds Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility of the Modern Age c.1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1-38.

ing the early modern period must be pointed out. The crux of the problem is in the evolution of the institutions in the political sphere of the monarchy, and in the way these allow a greater or lesser degree of political centralization. In the Portuguese context and time period considered here, the opinions are mainly divided into two main theoretical plans that are not totally divergent. The first perspective argues that the reforms carried out in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, combined with the vicissitudes resulting from overseas expansion, led to an appreciable degree of political centralization. Implications of this symbolic affirmation that strengthened the monarchy were visible in the political patronage of the different social strata, especially towards the nobility.⁴ Some authors argued that, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the members of the Avis dynasty generally decided to integrate the elites from the kingdom into the royal household, not just to coordinate the government between the center and periphery, but also to strengthen and legitimize its own power.⁵ The second perspective, strongly influenced by the legal history, emphasizes the existence of a polysinodal monarchy, where power spreading throughout the Portuguese territory was a reality until the liberal period. Based on this premise, the persistence of the seigniorial jurisdictions configured a privileged area of activity for the nobility and ecclesiastic lords where the king was unable to interfere. Thus, the degree of political centralization until the end of the *Ancien Régime* tended to be low.⁶

Although they disagree in many features, these views reveal some points of convergence. For example, both recognize that, due to the insufficiency of resources of the central power, commitment between the king and nobility is essential for governing the most peripheral areas of the territory. This point is perhaps the most interesting for discussing the importance of the households of the *infantes* as alternative centers of power to the royal court. The Avis dynasty was known for donating large portions of land to members of royalty normally associated with a title that established their primacy in the stratifica-

4 See, for example, Susannah Humble Ferreira, *The Crown, the Court and the Casa da Índia: Political Centralization in Portugal, 1479-1521* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 7-10.

5 Félix Labrador Arroyo, "A função integradora da casa real portuguesa de D. João I a D. Filipe I (1385-1598)," in ed. Santiago Martínez Hernández, *Governo, Política e Representações do Poder no Portugal Habsburgo e nos seus Territórios Ultramarinos (1581-1640)* (Lisbon, 2011), pp. 21-44, esp. 41-2.

6 Pedro Cardim, "Politics and Power Relations in Portugal (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)," *Parliaments, Estates and Representation* 13:2 (1993): 95-108. This perspective is highly influenced by authors such as Otto Brunner, Bartolomé Clavero and António Manuel Hespanha. From the latter, see António Manuel Hespanha, *As Vésperas do Leviathan. Instituições e poder político em Portugal, séc. XVII* (Coimbra, 1994).

tion of the kingdom's nobility.⁷ In fact, throughout this period, many of these jurisdictional areas were controlled by *infantes* and their descendants. In addition, the household became a means that allowed control to be exerted over these areas through a series of seigniorial practices at the local and regional level. Also, it should be noted that the concept of a "household" based on the coeval context studied here not only refers to the domestic space, but also to the rest of the seigniorial spaces, both public and private.⁸

The power bestowed to these *infantes* was considerable. As such, the Crown tried whenever possible to delegate political projects to them, whether within the metropolis or in the scope of overseas territories. The model of governance in force during the modern period would facilitate the *infantes'* cooperation with the monarchy, given the patriarchal prominence that the *pater familias* had in the domestic economy. In effect, there were ideological bases to exploit effectively these members of the royal household.⁹ However, this type of cooperation did not always occur. From the point of view of the Crown, the concession of a household to an *infante* (as well as the material and jurisdictional bases to sustain it) involved a variable degree of risk. As a result, the political rebellions that occurred during the fifteenth century, which occasionally resulted in civil wars, originated in the power that some of these individuals were able to reunite.¹⁰

In light of this, the refinement of royal mechanisms certainly helped control the ambitions of these households and the individuals who possessed them. These mechanisms included policy concerning the granting of titles; the *foros*,

7 Miguel Jasmins Rodrigues and Luís Filipe Oliveira, "Um processo de reestruturação do domínio social da nobreza: a titulação na 2ª dinastia," *Revista de História Económica e Social* 22 (1988): 77-114; and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, "A nobreza portuguesa no início do século xv: renovação e continuidade," *Revista Portuguesa de História* 31:2 (1996): 219-52.

8 Cunha, "Nobreza, rivalidade," pp. 35-36. There is no term in Portuguese equivalent to "household" to designate the domestic organic court. The definition of *casa* ("house") encompasses both the household and aristocratic domains. For the end of the Ancien Régime, see Nuno G. Monteiro, "Casa e Linhagem: o Vocabulário Aristocrático em Portugal nos séculos xvii e xviii," *Penélope* 12 (1993): 43-60, esp. p. 50.

9 Daniela Frigo, "*Disciplina Rei Familiariae*: a Economia como Modelo Administrativo de Ancien Régime," *Penélope* 6 (1991): 47-62; and Ignacio Atienza Hernández, "El señor avisado: programas paternalistas y control social en la Castilla del siglo xvii," *Manuscripts* 9 (1991): 155-204.

10 Concerning the civil war between partisans of *infante* Pedro (d. 1449) and King Afonso v, see Humberto Baquero Moreno, *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira: antecedentes e significado histórico* (Coimbra, 1979). Regarding conspiracies against King João ii, which involved some members of the noble houses related to the crown, see Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *Linhagem, Parentesco e Poder: a Casa de Bragança (1384-1483)* (Lisbon, 1990), pp. 159-73.

a system of social hierarchy applied to the *moradores* of the royal household; and the Mental Law, a legal mechanism, based on the principles of indivisibility, inalienability, primogeniture and masculinity, which regulated the transmission of the crown's patrimonial assets.¹¹ On the other hand, the actual reproduction of the households and estates of the *infantes* was conditioned by the marriage policy of the Crown. Some members of the royal house, such as *infantes* Luis (1506-55) and Maria (1521-77), could not marry mostly due to royal imposition; others, such as *infantes* Afonso (1509-40) and Henrique (1512-80), were pushed to ecclesiastic careers early on.

Nevertheless, it is important to reflect on the political loyalty of the elites belonging to these princely courts. As noted for the progeny of João I (r.1385-1433), the growing complexity of the households of the *infantes* Duarte, Pedro, and Henrique was manifested in the political participation of the members with whom they were associated. At that time, it was well understood that the *infantes* actively participated in the king's decision-making process, with help from his closest advisors.¹² Regarding this trend, the government of João III (r. 1521-1557) presents some similarities. The political participation of Luis, Afonso, and Henrique is recognized at different times and in different contexts during the rule of their brother João III. Less clear is the role of the closest advisors to these princes, largely due to the absence of in-depth prosopographic studies that could establish clear and elucidated profiles about this group. Therefore, it is important to understand the attraction that the households of the *infantes* have over both small and lesser nobility compared to the same practices carried out by the Crown and high nobility.

The Entourages of the *Infantes*: Formation and Development

The first large wave of donations to the Portuguese *infantes* to form the respective households, done in a premeditated manner, was carried out during the kingdom of João I (r. 1385-1433). The process seems to have been similar to a certain degree throughout the West during the medieval period, where the division of the territorial ownership by the princes belonging to the same ruling household favored a certain degree of competition and distribution of

11 Rita Costa Gomes, "A curialização da nobreza," in ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, *O Tempo de Vasco da Gama* (Lisbon, 1998), pp. 179-87.

12 Rita Costa Gomes, *The Making of a Court Society: Kings and Nobles in Late Medieval Portugal* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 280-90.

power.¹³ Some authors pointed out that this model for these structures was inspired by the English context, where members related to the royal household owned extensive land and were representatives of the royal power itself.¹⁴ This seems to be true, especially in light of the policy regarding the donation of titles which existed between both kingdoms, which was quite similar to the degree that, for example, promotions to the rank of duke were solely reserved for relatives of the king.

These entourages, integrated into the royal household and intended to satisfy several needs of these *infantes*, already existed since at least the middle of the previous dynasty. The shift during the Avis dynasty was towards increasing the autonomy of these groups. By granting a set of territorial jurisdictions in addition to transferring administrative, fiscal and military rights, these individuals could construct platforms of subsistence that guaranteed the maintenance of the respective clienteles.

The formation of these entourages in the case of the Manueline court did not differ greatly from the process carried out at the start of the dynasty. At a young age, the *infantes* were assigned a primary group of servants who were physically close and had functions connected to the well-being and personal protection. Given the nature of these compositions, the first chief officer to be named was the lord chamberlain (*camareiro-mor*), who often doubled as provost (*guarda-mor*). This is the case of *infantes* Luis (Rui Teles de Meneses), Fernando (Jorge de Silveira), Afonso (Garcia de Meneses), and Henrique (Simão de Miranda).¹⁵ These small entourages functioned from the outset as an extension of the departments of the progenitors' household. In a way, the close relationship between the officers named for these posts and the king was proportional to the physical proximity between the monarch, the heir, and the other *infantes*. Physical space and service to the royal court were combined according to a restricted ceremony, where the closest servants were those that accumulated administrative positions.¹⁶ During this period, which frequently carried on into the adulthood of the *infante*, the entourages were completely

13 Norbert Elias, *O Processo Civilizacional: Investigações Sociogenéticas e Psicogenéticas*, 2 vols (Basel, 1939; Portuguese trans. and repr. Lisbon, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 114-36.

14 António J. Dias Dinis, *Estudos Henriquinos* (Coimbra, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 27-28; and João de Silva e Sousa, *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique* (Lisbon, 1991), pp. 5-7.

15 Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional, Torre do Tombo [hereafter, ANTT], Casa Real [CR], Chancelaria de D. Manuel I [CDM], liv. 24, fols. 9-10; liv. 25, ffs. 14-14v.

16 Non-exclusive situation of the Portuguese case. See David Starkey, "Court, Council, and Nobility in Tudor England," in eds Asch and Birke, *Princes, Patronage*, p. 200; and Mía J. Rodríguez-Salgado, "Honour and Profit in the Court of Phillip II of Spain," in eds Maurice Aymard and Marzio Romani, *La Cour comme institution économique* (Paris, 1998), p. 77.

TABLE 16.1 *Nomination of chief officers of the infantes Luis, Afonso, Henrique, and Fernando, 1514-1521 (# individuals/year)^a*

Name	1514	1515	1516	1517	1518	1519	1520	1521
Luis	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1
Fernando	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afonso	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0
Henrique	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

a ANTT, CR, CDM, liv. 10, fls. 30v, 58v, 66v, 127v; liv. 18, fl. 103v; liv. 24, fls. 9-10; liv. 25, fls. 14-14v; liv. 36, fls. 66v, 71v; liv. 44, fl. 33.

dependent on the Crown, both economically and politically. For example, the entourage of *infante* Maria, worked as an extension of the household of Queen Catarina (1507-1578) until she had her own household (1537).¹⁷ Gradually, the other chief officers and respective subordinate posts were assigned according to the vicissitudes of the career of the *infante* in question, and his designated place reserved for him in the monarchy.

Table 16.1 reveals that the nomination of several chief officers for *infante* Afonso, particularly from 1514-17, and also those of *infante* Luis, after 1518, were clearly politically motivated. For Afonso, this is related to the precocity of the ecclesiastical career in question, given that his status and that hierarchy required an appropriate princely court.¹⁸ Regarding Luis, the documented increase around 1518 can be interpreted as a sign of the royal intention to encourage the autonomy of his entourage in the short term. This process would culminate in the concession of a title, jurisdictional rights, and the material goods that would allow him to sustain the household.¹⁹

Many of the officers were members of families who had a tradition of effective service in the court, each one with a *foro* of nobleman (*fidalgo*) from the royal household. The majority also belonged to the royal council. In a considerable number of cases, several members of the same family joined an entourage

17 ANTT, Corpo Cronológico [CC], part II, ms. 196, n. 107; 196. Published in Carla Alferes Pinto, "O Mecenato da Infanta D. Maria de Portugal (1521-1577)," MA dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996, vol. 2, pp. 115-8.

18 José Pedro Paiva, "Um príncipe na diocese de Évora: o governo episcopal do cardeal infante D. Afonso (1523-1540)," *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura* 7 (2007): 127-74, esp. p. 128.

19 ANTT, CR, Chancelaria de D. João III [CDJ], liv. 30, fl. 120. The donation by João III to the Duke of Beja in 1527 was intended to fulfil an old will of King Manuel.

at the same time, benefiting from the political importance acquired in the past. It is well established that informal relationships based on emotions contributed to these entourages to a great extent. Good examples of this dynamic can be found in the Teles de Meneses (Silvas) who were in the households of the queens and *infante* Luis, as well as with the Miranda family in the entourage of *infante* Henrique. Rui Teles de Meneses, 4th Lord of Unhão (d.1528), in the service of the queen and the *infantes*, appointed his wife Guiomar of Vilhena as the nanny of *infante* Isabel (1503-1539), and several of his servants and his descendants in prominent positions in the household of *infante* Luis: André (high steward, or *mordomo-mor*), Brás (lord chamberlain), and António (head chaplain, or *capelão-mor*).²⁰ As for Simão de Miranda, a nobleman of the royal household and a member of the royal council, it is said that after being named lord chamberlain and provost to *infante* Henrique, he was in a privileged position to include his family members in this same entourage.²¹ That also happened with his second son, Diogo de Miranda, who inherited the roles his father had held and even transferred the position of lord chamberlain to his son Martim Afonso de Miranda, who exercised it while this *infante* was cardinal.²² Service provided by other members of the family, such as Simão de Miranda II, the son of Fernão de Miranda and grandson of the aforementioned Simão de Miranda, and respectively the page and master cupbearer (*copeiro-mor*) of this *infante*, prove the dynamic.²³

As for female descendants, the transfer of officers belonging not only to the royal household (*per se*), but also those originating from the entourages of the queen, are particularly important. For example, the well-documented case of *infante* Isabel (1503-1539) indicates that after the death of Queen Maria of Castile and Aragon (1482-1517), many of her servants worked for the said *infante*.²⁴ It is significant that these individuals had already served Queen Isabel of Castile (1470-1498), which in and of itself is an example of how these individuals near the Crown moved from household to household, entourage to entourage.

20 Hélder Carvalhal, "Lineage, Marriage, and Social Mobility: The Teles de Meneses Family in the Iberian Courts (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)," *E-Journal of Portuguese History* 14 (1): 1-19.

21 ANTT, CR, CDM, liv. 25, fl. 14. Appointed on December 7, 1515.

22 *Livro de Linhagens do século XVI* [hereafter, LL], ed. António Machado de Faria (Lisbon, 1956), pp. 330-31; Damião de Góis, *Livro de Linhagens de Portugal* [hereafter, LLP], ed. António Falcão Pestana de Vasconcelos (Lisbon, 2014), p. 107.

23 Biblioteca Pública de Évora [BPE], Cód. CVII/1-29, fols. 43, 49.

24 Félix Labrador Arroyo, *La Casa de la Emperatriz Isabel de Portugal* (1526-1539) (Madrid, 1999), pp. 30-36.

The division and circulation of servants throughout the different households related to the Crown is also visible between the entourages of the other *infantes*. In a later period, given the early death of many of these royal family members, a significant number of former servants of *infantes* Fernando (1507-1534), Beatriz (1504-1538), Isabel, and Duarte (1515-1540), entered the household of Luis, even though the majority required a direct affiliation (*filhamento*) in the royal household.²⁵ This phenomenon proves the investment was made not only in the households of the *infantes*, but also on behalf of several families of small and medium nobility. It also asserts the existence of interpersonal networks which extended beyond the environment of these princely courts in search of royal patronage, giving political support and loyalty in exchange.²⁶

The monarch did not regard the entourages of the *infantes* in an innocent manner. On the one hand, it was up to him to choose the high officers wisely. In turn, that resulted in choosing men close to him and/or men who held some influence in the royal council. Alternatively, the integration of these entourages occasionally served as a form of redistribution for exceptional services provided to the monarchy. For example, Manuel Fernandes, for his role defending the outpost of Sofala (Mozambique) during the siege carried out by Muslim troops, was granted by King Manuel I (r. 1495-1521) in 1512 the coat of arms and nomination to wardrobe officer (*guarda-roupa*) of *infante* Luis.²⁷

This incident raises doubts about the control that may have been exercised by the Crown over the high-ranking members within these entourages with respect to their political loyalty. As these *infantes* gained a greater degree of political autonomy, these individuals could exploit this and obtain their own households and estates. It must also be pointed out that the said control could be reduced from this point, given that the recruitment of officers became (in theory) controlled only by the *infante* in question. Seen from this perspective, the patrimonialization of the positions emerges as a phenomenon that may have interested the monarch. The power accumulated by the upper hierarchies, inserted into the households of the *infantes* and connected to the Crown, would create conditions which would perpetuate the access to the *infante*, and thus affect the recruitment of new officers. Therefore, it is rea-

25 Hélder Carvalho, "A casa senhorial do infante D. Luís (1506-1555): dinâmicas de construção e consolidação de um senhorio quinhentista," 7 *Mares* 4 (2014): 33-48, esp. p. 44.

26 Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 12-39; and Antoni Maczak, "From Aristocratic Household to Princely Court: Restructuring Patronage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in eds Asch and Birke *Princes, Patronage*, pp. 315-27.

27 Luiz de Lencastre e Távora, *Dicionário das Famílias Portuguesas* (Lisbon, 1989), pp. 249-59.

sonable to conclude that up to a point, this phenomenon contributed to the Crown manipulating a series of informal control mechanisms over the power networks at court. In other words, if the monarch could take advantage, informally, of the individuals close to him, he could control his direct relatives and the evolution of their princely households.

Factors that promoted the growth of these entourages included the age of the *infante* and her or his position within the hierarchy of access to the throne. Hence, in theory, the first-born son would have more servants compared to his younger brothers. Although there are no absolute numbers, the number of servants exclusively destined for the service of each of these *infantes* could range from one to several dozen, depending on the complexity of their entourages. Some evidence proves this fluctuation. The entourage of *infante* Maria had only fourteen paid servants at her service in 1530, although one can assume that her entire entourage was larger.²⁸ In 1531, the Crown paid twenty servants of *infante* Duarte and forty-three servants of *infante* Henrique for services provided.²⁹

The progressive nomination of high officers to several departments – chapel, chamber, kitchen (*cozinha*), pantry (*ucharia*), stable, among others – called for a gradual increase in the recruitment of servants to meet the needs. Recruitment, as a rule, was already influenced by the high officers, who took advantage of the opportunity to insert their own clients and family members into positions. As such, it is valid to assert that in fact these structures constituted the embryo of what would be the composition of the princely court of the future household, both from either the domestic apparatus point of view, and the perspective of servants who performed duties both within seigniorial spaces, as well as outside them.

Autonomy and Political Power

The necessary step to personalize the entourages of Manueline descendants relative to the Crown comes generally from the title given to them, and the inherent resources to reflect the increase in their status. The autonomization of the household in its own right did not provide the *infantes* with new powers. On the contrary, it was the donation of the title and estate that led to the transfer of part of the royal regalia to the new title holders. These entitlements

28 ANTT, CR, Núcleo Antigo [NA], n. 143B, fols. 34-36v, in Carla Alferes Pinto, *O Mecenato da Infanta D. Maria (1521-1577)* (Lisbon, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 108-11.

29 ANTT, Gavetas [Gav], gav. XVIII, mc. 5, n. 2.

included civil and criminal jurisdiction, the right to levy tax, military recruitment, the rights of ecclesiastical presentation (*padroado*), granting nobility to plebeian individuals, and, no less importantly, the nomination of officers within the entire seigniorial domains. The importance of these powers in connection with the princely dimension of the household relied on operating a distribution network of bounties and privileges by the respective clientele and on exploiting the advantages that may come regarding the seigniorial recruitment.

In the majority of cases, and in a relatively short period of time, this step allowed for the formation of households and seigniorial courts with an organic apparatus similar to that of the royal household, except for slight variations due to the size of the jurisdictions granted. The sophistication and refinement that the court gradually experienced during the Manueline kingdom (from the sixteenth century onward) resulted in an increased imitation of etiquette and royal ceremonies by the households of the *infantes*. This transition is evident in the existence of complex organic structures in the different departments of the domestic apparatus, including the hall (*aula regis*), chamber and chapel. This process culminated in a more autonomous household relative to the power that initiated its formation. The implications of this with regard to the royal clienteles and their transition to official positions in *infantes'* curia will be discussed later.

The process of emancipation could have been accelerated by the monarch's dynastic policy and the fate determined to suit each one of the children. Matrimonial policy (both internally and externally) and royal interference in ecclesiastical institutions were great catalysts of the political autonomization of these households. My analysis will not consider first-born João (later João III), but rather will focus primarily on *infantes* Luis, Fernando, Duarte, and Maria, with some attention given to Isabel and Beatriz (both married outside the realm in an early period), and Afonso and Henrique (who would both pursue ecclesiastical careers).³⁰

Manuel I's matrimonial policy, continued after his death by his son João III, paid particular attention to the management of the *infantes*, most of whom had already died by around 1540. It is no surprise that the matrimonial projects of the *infantes* were closely scrutinized by the Crown and negotiations dragged on (sometimes deliberately) for several years due to external reasons. The cases of Luis and Maria – evident in the numerous times they were proposed

30 Andreia Martins de Carvalho is working on a doctoral dissertation (King's College, London) on the development of the high-ranking officers of King João III, entitled "The High Officials of the Court of King John III (1521-1557): A Prosopographical Approach."

TABLE 16.2 *Marriages of the descendants of King Manuel I^a*

<i>Infante</i>	Consort
João	Catarina of Austria
Isabel	Carlos v (I of Castile)
Beatriz	Carlos of Savoy
Luis	n/a
Fernando	Guiomar Coutinho
Afonso	n/a
Henrique	n/a
Duarte	Isabel of Braganza
Maria	n/a

a I chose not to locate those of Manueline descent who had died soon after childbirth and/or at a very young age, as in the cases of Miguel da Paz (d. 1500) and the *infante* Carlos (d. 1520).

as candidates for marriages abroad – served this purpose. However, the limited solutions open to the House of Avis transformed these *infantes* into some kind of “natural reserve” for the Crown, making a possible marriage increasingly difficult as time passed, especially after 1540.

Excluding the heir João and the princesses Isabel and Beatriz, none of the other *infantes* married someone of similar status. Managing Manuel I’s progeny not only did not obey the logistics of external politics, but also it was essential for the Crown to control its territory effectively. From this perspective, in the case of Luis, the main problem stemmed from the control of the peripheral powers. However, the marriage of *infante* Fernando with Guiomar Coutinho (d. 1534) would have contributed to this problem by affecting both control of the high nobility and the return of important jurisdictions to the royal sphere. Furthermore, the marriage of *infante* Duarte and Isabel of Braganza (1537) forced the House of Braganza to cede a group of jurisdictions that would constitute the Guimarães dukedom.³¹ By impeding the reproduction of these households and estates, the Crown would end up recovering the donations it had made decades earlier.

31 Mafalda Soares da Cunha, “Estratégias matrimoniais da Casa de Bragança e o casamento do Duque D. João II,” *Hispania* 64:1 (2004): 49–50; and Helder Carvalhal, “Património, Casa e Patrocínio: Uma Aproximação ao Senhorio do Infante D. Fernando (1530–1534),” *Fragmenta Historica* 2 (2014): 39–67.

At the same time, the investment of *infantes* Afonso and Henrique in their ecclesiastical careers allowed the Crown to maximize the degree to which they used their progeny. According to some authors, this dynamic must have contributed to a greater informal inter-institutional connection between the Crown and the church. A narrower view of the relationship between the church and “state” has been discussed based on the existence of a mutual dependence between them, allowing the ecclesiastical sphere to interfere in civil affairs and vice versa.³² With this option, the Crown not only held greater control over important ecclesiastical seigniorial lands (for example, the archbishops of Braga and Évora and the monastery of Alcobaça), but it also immediately eliminated the problem of succession or reproduction from the respective household, an issue that had to be solved if the Crown favored the marriage business instead.

The timing of the entitlement of *infantes*, and the establishment of their households and courts which were separate from the Crown, did not always coincide. Both were dependent on the political situation and the physical accidents – death, disease, injury – that could affect the royal family. Hence, the household of Isabel split apart very early on, compared to those of her brothers, due exclusively to the death of her mother, Queen Maria of Castile and Aragon. Isabel then inherited the seigniorial lands from the household of her deceased mother at Torres Vedras and Viseu, lands that she later would give up when married to Carlos V (1500-1558). A few decades later, her younger half-sister, *infante* Maria (1521-77), became the duchess of those jurisdictions when they became vacant after Isabel moved to Castile. Thus, the late medieval tradition of conceding a “household” to the princes once they reached a certain age – that is, between fourteen and sixteen years – had undergone a set of substantial changes.³³ In general, these *infantes* became autonomous based on the title that was bestowed upon them and/or in accordance with the dynastic projects that the monarch reserved for them.

Only Beatriz, Fernando and Duarte had a household at the time of receiving a title, and only because their marriages justified such promotion. Luis and Fernando only completely autonomized their respective households in 1530. Luis benefited from the title acquired three years earlier to accelerate this process, because he was twenty-four years old at the time of emancipation. But *infante* Fernando’s marriage to the consort Guiomar Coutinho was arranged by

32 José Pedro Paiva, “O Estado na Igreja e a Igreja no Estado: Contaminações, dependências e dissidência entre o Estado e a Igreja em Portugal (1495-1640),” *Revista Portuguesa de História* 40 (2008/9): 383-97.

33 Gomes, *Making of a Court Society*, p. 275.

TABLE 16.3 *Title and autonomy of the household of Manueline infantes (early 16th century)*^a

Prince/Princess	Title	Date title was received	Date household autonomy received
Isabel	Queen of Castile	1526	1517
Beatriz	Duchess of Savoy	1521	1521
Luis	Duke of Beja	1527	1530
Fernando	Duke of Guarda	1530	1530
Afonso	Bishop of Guarda	1516	c.1523-6
Henrique	Archbishop of Braga	1533	1535
Duarte	Duke of Guimarães	1537	1537
Maria	Duchess of Viseu	1544	1537

a This accounts for the earliest title acquired for each of the *infantes*. ANTT, CR, CDJ, Doações, liv. 30, fol. 120; liv. 39, fol. 108v; *Letters of John III King of Portugal, 1521-1557*, eds J.D.M. Ford and L.G. Moffatt (Cambridge, MA, 1931), pp. 236-7; *Relações de Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro*, ed. Ernesto Campos de Andrada (Lisbon, 1937), p. 330; Amélia Polónia, *O Cardeal Infante D. Henrique: arcebispo de Évora um prelado no limiar da viragem tridentina* (Porto, 2005), p. 20; Labrador Arroyo, *La Casa de la Emperatriz*, pp. 30-36; Fernando Palha, *O casamento do infante Dom Duarte com Dona Isabel de Bragança* (Lisbon, 1881); Carla Alferes Pinto, *A Infanta Dona Maria de Portugal (1521-1577): o mecenato de uma princesa renascentista* (Lisbon, 1998), pp. 67-78; António de Oliveira, "A infanta D. Maria e o senhorio de Viseu: uma precisão cronológica," *Revista Portuguesa de História* 27 (1992): 215-20; and Hélder Carvalhal, "Património," pp. 35-67.

King Manuel I, providing emancipation for the entourage and establishing the household. The case of Maria is singular in this context, given the political conditions inherent to the marriage of Leonor of Austria (1498-1558), and especially her dowry. For a long period she was prohibited from establishing a household separate to the Crown, and only a feud over her fortune in southern France and her pleas to her brother João III resulted in the king's concession of her household in 1537.³⁴

The estimated annual income of these *infantes* (Table 16.4) is not easily calculated, given that the sources do not refer to specific numbers. The information available will only serve to establish estimates and orders of magnitude that allow us to draw comparisons with the Portuguese high nobility. The temporary nature of these houses – contrary to those of the magnates, with an already reasonably established economic and political power – is mirrored in

34 Pinto, *A Infanta Dona Maria*, pp. 61-78.

TABLE 16.4 *Estimated annual income of the Manueline infantes in the mid-16th century (millions of reais per year)^a*

Infante	Amount (in millions of <i>reais</i>)	Year
Luis	>14	1542
Fernando	>8	1534
Afonso	11	1540
Henrique	>5	1544
Duarte	3.5	1540
Maria	5	1545

- a ANTT, CR, CDJ, Doações, liv. 9, fols. 104-5; ANTT, CR, CDJ, Privilégios, liv. 2, fols. 37-39v, 110-110v; Biblioteca da Ajuda [BA], cód. 50-V-22, fol. 337v; Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal [BNP], Cód. 8003; *Corpo Diplomático Português* (CDP), ed. Luiz Augusto Rebello da Silva (Lisboa, 1862-91), vol. 5, pp. 130-152; Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal* (1910, repr. Porto, 1967-71), vol. 2, pp. 99-123; Carvalho, "Património," p. 63; Pinto, *A Infanta Dona Maria*, p. 72; and Polónia, *O Cardeal*, p. 30.

the fluctuation of the respective incomes.³⁵ These depended on the growth of the household, either by royal incorporation or by inheritance, in addition to the capacity of its title holder to reproduce.

The importance of the hierarchy is evident in this redistribution of resources given that the descendants closest to the throne are generally those who have a higher income. This pattern is only broken by physical accidents befalling some of these individuals. In fact, Manuel I's descendants who survived the high mortality faced by this generation up to 1540 managed to amass more resources and privileges. *Infante* Henrique (d. 1580) outlived his brother Afonso (d. 1540), and this allowed him to "inherit" his brother's position and accumulate much of the revenue from the posts he had held (including the archbishops of Braga, Évora and Lisbon, and revenues from the monasteries of Alcobaça and the Priory of Santa Cruz de Coimbra).³⁶ *Infante* Luis survived the majority of his brothers, which allowed him gradually to engross some bounties, either

35 According to the estimate of the annuities (1529), there were three Portuguese title-holders who received the most rents: the Duke of Bragança with 16 *contos* (1 *conto* = 1 million *reais*), the Duke of Coimbra (approximately 11 *contos*), and the marquês of Vila Real (6 *contos*). See João Cordeiro Pereira, "A renda de uma grande casa senhorial de Quinhentos," in *Portugal na Era de Quinhentos* (Cascais, 2003), pp. 248-49.

36 Polónia, *O Cardeal*, p. 30.

TABLE 16.5 *Total payments to servants by infantes Fernando, Duarte, and Henrique (reais/year)^a*

<i>Infante</i>	Payment amount	Year
Fernando	2,800,000	1534
Duarte	1,635,768	1540
Henrique	1,000,000	1540

a BPE, Códice [Cód]. CVII/1-29, fols. 51-57v; *Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* [PHGCRP], ed. António Caetano de Sousa, rev. M. Lopes de Almeida (1739, repr. Coimbra, 1946-55), vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 237-40; and Carvalhal, "Património," p. 56.

by donation from the Crown or by individual inheritance. Thus he was able gradually to get closer to the annual income of Teodósio, Duke of Braganza (d. 1563), the head of the wealthiest household at the time.

Even those *infantes* who died early, without progeny, could gather significant economic resources. *Infante* Fernando (d. 1534) typifies this reality. His marriage to the heiress of the household of the counts of Marialva allowed him to reach an annual income close to that of Jorge, Duke of Coimbra (1481-1550).³⁷ Such an equal income level indicates that competition among the *infantes* and high nobility was a reality. The first recipients were, in general, able to obtain more resources to strengthen their households and extend the respective capacity of patronage.

The estimates presented in Table 16.5 show the expenses with the servants of the *infantes* Fernando, Duarte, and Henrique in the middle of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The hierarchal differences between the position and access to the throne reflects the differing sums in these costs. This premise is reinforced by remembering that the *infante* Luis (older than his brothers) spent 3,218,399 *reais* on his servants in 1536; this would increase to nearly four million *reais* in 1555.³⁸ From an economic point of view, the equality among wages paid for service to the royal family members reveals an important trend that resulted from the tendential absence of competition between the monarch and his brothers. The process of becoming part of the

37 Carvalhal, "Património," p. 63. It should be remembered that in the 1529 assessment (previously cited), Francisco Coutinho was one of the wealthiest men in the realm, with annual profits of approximately 5 *contos*.

38 ANTT, CR, NA, livs. 177, 186. Figures based on the sum of the remunerations contained within the respective accounts of the household.

royal household, fostered by the development of the *foros* of *fidalgos* (laws of the nobles) of the royal household and encouraged by the development of the powerful social hierarchy, resulted in cash payments or wages like *moradia*, *cevada*, and *acostamentos*. In addition, the amount paid depended on the social status of the individual and the family. For example, in 1553 Nuno Pereira, *moço-fidalgo* (noble boy) of *infante* Luis was promoted to *escudeiro-fidalgo* (noble squire), and was awarded an above average *moradia* of 1,800 *reais* per month because his father (Reimão Pereira) was paid the same amount for service to the monarch as a member of the royal household.³⁹

This phenomenon was a mechanism for social ascension that could also propitiate the adoption of different strategies by the families interested in working in service of the *infantes'* households. The affiliation (*filhamento*) of a descendant for each household related to the Crown would be a way of guaranteeing their social ascent, without them having to follow alternative routes such as leaving for overseas territories or ecclesiastical service. Perhaps the most paradigmatic case is that of Pedro, Fernando, and António, sons of Martinho de Noronha, lord of Cadaval, who would serve in the households of Queen Catherine, and *infantes* Luis and Fernando respectively.⁴⁰

Much attention has already been given to a specific indicator: the growth of staff in the royal and princely courts. A significant part of the historiography linked the increasing numbers of the servants with the power and the capacity of political patronage of the household in question. First, the order of magnitude of these households was in many hundreds. Except for the abnormal numbers in the households of *infante* Luis, the number of residents of the others could be estimated to be between 200 and 300 individuals. Such figures makes these structures comparable, in terms of size, to the largest households of the most important English counts and dukes in the late fifteenth century, where the majority of the respective entourages would have been between 100 and 200 residents; this trend was maintained at the start of the following century.⁴¹ However, these orders of magnitude do not reflect the total dependents of a household. The progressive increase of territorial jurisdictions and other bounties of varying character led to the increase of the number of servants for these title holders. In addition, it is possible to understand how *infante* Luis held, between the decades of the 1540s and 1550s, an average of approximately

39 ANTT, CR, NA, liv. 184, fl. 39.

40 LL, pp. 223-24; PHGCRP, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 494.

41 Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 194-215, 218; C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 12-13.

TABLE 16.6 *Size of the households of the Manueline infantes*^a

<i>Infante</i>	Number of residents	Year
Luis	471	1536
Fernando	276	1534
Henrique	approx. 200	c.1540
Duarte	198	c.1540

a ANTT, CR, NA, liv. 177; PHGCRP, vol. 2, p. 2, pp. 183-84, 237-40; Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *A Casa de Bragança, 1560-1640: práticas senhoriais e redes clientelares* (Lisbon, 2000), p. 94; Andreia M. de Carvalho and Hélder Carvalho, "A casa senhorial do cardeal-infante D. Henrique: Problemas e hipóteses em torno de uma esfera de poder," unpublished paper presented at *Congresso Internacional: D. Henrique e as múltiplas dimensões de poder no século XVI* (Évora, 2012).

600 residents.⁴² This same phenomenon could have happened with *infante* Henrique, especially after he was named a cardinal, though the lack of in-depth studies does not allow us to make a definitive conclusion. It is certain, therefore, that the numbers tend to reflect an evident hierarchy in the high nobility of the kingdom. Only in this way can it be explained, for example, that *infante* Luis – possessing fewer resources – had more residents than the greatest title holder of the kingdom, Teodósio, Duke of Braganza (d. 1563), whose princely court included 339 individuals.⁴³

Despite the efforts of scholars, the composition of the royal court in the households of the Manueline descendants has not been covered in great detail. Little is known about the political loyalties of the most influential officials of these entourages, or the provenance of the low and middle strata of clientele. Surely the most salient aspect is the evident hybridism between these groups. It is known that by forming part of the entourages, noblemen necessarily became connected to the royal household, and initially, the majority of these royal courts were controlled by individuals who were affiliated (in the strict sense of *filhamento*) to the house of the king. An example lies in the composition of the elites of the seigniorial house of *infante* Luis. The data available indicates that in the uppermost social strata (here, the *foro*, corresponding to *fidalgos-cavaleiros*⁴⁴), around 71 percent of these individuals already held offices

42 Carvalho, "A casa senhorial," p. 41.

43 Cunha, *A Casa*, p. 94.

44 Despite the continuous reorganization of the *foros* of the royal household up to? the rule of King Sebastião (r. 1568-78), changes in the upper strata were already visible in the

in the royal household and/or central administration of the kingdom during 1536.⁴⁵ In other cases, such as that of *infante* Duarte (also 71 percent in 1540) and *infante* Fernando (100 percent in 1534) confirm this trend.⁴⁶

On the other hand, some indicators point to a decline in this hybridism over time. With regard to the household of *infante* Luis, only 41 percent of this group of elite clientele had already served under the same conditions in 1555.⁴⁷ Obviously this variation dependent greatly on the political success of the household, the possibilities for political patronage, and the bounties that the title holder could distribute. The decrease in this percentage is due especially to the fact that many of the new members of this elite – largely the descendants of nobility who accompanied the *infante* from the formation of the entourage in the royal court – now benefited from this seigniorial patronage. It bears repeating that the Crown did not possess the monopoly on granting bounties and privileges, among them military commands and even granting titles of nobility. This privilege was also an appanage from the large households of the kingdom, including those from the royal *infantes*, Braganza, Aveiro and Vila Real.⁴⁸

As a result, the greater autonomy and the title attribution policy extended the range of families who saw some of their members and/or other dependents affiliated in the households of the *infantes*. A closer look at the family backgrounds of these new servants – regardless of their eventual nobility – reveals a trend that lies in establishing multiple connections with other spheres of power, especially small and medium nobility. In addition to the aforementioned Teles de Meneses, Botelho and Beja families, the household of the *infante* Luis was frequented by members from the following families: Almeida, Silveiras, Figueira, Sousa, and Noronha. Identical practice can be found in the household of *infante* Fernando (populated by members of the Távora, Silveira, Moura and Silva families) or in the household of *infante* Duarte (Melo, Meneses, Lima, Figueira, among others).⁴⁹ This trend is considered to be another indica-

middle of that century, judging by the systemization within the households of the *infantes*. See João Cordeiro Pereira, “A estrutura social e o seu devir,” in *Portugal na Era de Quinhentos. Estudos Vários* (Cascais, 2003), pp. 299–369, esp. p. 317.

45 ANTT, CR, NA, liv. 177, fls. 12–20.

46 Figures based on the prosopographic analysis of the respective clienteles, whose composition in the aforementioned years is available in PHGCRP, vol. 2, p. 2, pp. 183–4.

47 ANTT, CR, NA, liv. 186, fls. 15–21V.

48 Mafalda Soares da Cunha e Nuno G. Monteiro, “Aristocracia, família e poder em Portugal, séculos XV–XVIII,” in eds Mafalda Soares da Cunha and Juan Hernández Franco, *Sociedade, Família e Poder na Península Ibérica* (Évora, 2010), pp. 47–75, esp. pp. 64–69.

49 PHGCRP, vol. 2 p. 2, pp. 183, 237; and Carvalhal, “A casa senhorial,” pp. 41–44.

tor of the power of attraction of these households, and their capacity of redistributing resources and positions.

Royal practices for attracting clientele were generally copied by the *infantes*, particularly the prerogative of appointing people to the administrative and military posts, which allowed them to obtain the political loyalty of the main families present in these royal courts. Frequently, among these servants of the households of the *infantes*, there were governors (*alcaide-mor*) of the castles located in the jurisdictional areas contained within the respective seigniorial lands.⁵⁰ The Crown had already experimented with this form of political patronage that helped to guarantee the loyalty of these family groups. Even the fact that the appointment could only occur in a vacancy after the death of the respective office title holder did not prevent the prince, in some cases, from breaking with the lineage in possession of such positions. In doing so, it legitimized the nobility that depended on it at the expense of former officials and descendants who, in theory, would then succeed them in the post.⁵¹ This dynamic in exercising jurisdictional rights made the *infantes* potentially more competitive in the political field than queens, for example, who rarely provided officials from their own household in these positions. On the contrary, the nominations frequently benefited the officials connected to the monarch.⁵²

On the other hand, favoring these servants also created problems. The appointment of these administrative and military posts suggests a clear intention to control not only the territory, but also the men under the jurisdiction of the prince. At stake was a compromise between the central government and peripheral representatives. Providing individuals outside these regions could cause divisions in the local oligarchies. It was not uncommon that the individuals appointed to these posts did not serve them in person, and instead selected an inferior hierarchical delegate to be resident physically and do the

50 Vasco da Silveira, Governor (*alcaide-mor*) of Castelo Rodrigo, in the case of *infante* Fernando; Brás Teles, Governor of Moura, and André Teles de Meneses, Governor of Covilhã and Seia, in the case of the *infante* Luís.

51 For nominations for governorships (*alcaldaria-mor*) in the castles as a practice of political patronage during the reigns of João II and Manuel I, see Susannah Humble Ferreira, "Os Castelos e o Conselho Real: Patrocínio Político em Portugal (1479-1521)," *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura* 10 (1) (2010): 121-39.

52 Ana Maria Rodrigues and Manuela Santos Silva, "Private Properties, Seigniorial Tributes, and Jurisdictional Rents: The Income of the Queens of Portugal in the Late Middle Ages," in ed. Theresa Earenfight, *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2010), pp. 209-28.

work.⁵³ Again, the lack of in-depth studies does not allow a conclusive explanation for this phenomenon. However, it is probable they would look for a balance between the risks and the benefits.

Another dimension that should be highlighted is the integration of these individuals into other spheres of power under the rule of the *infantes*, such as military orders and ecclesiastical structures. Given the lack of well-defined borders between the public and private spheres during this period, it was common for these servants to participate in the political projects of their lords. With a few exceptions, this phenomenon had the monarch's approval and thus cannot serve as a direct indicator for the study of political allegiances. Instead, it constitutes evidence of seigniorial domain over the clientele and the political use that the absence of institutional boundaries provided. The most characteristic examples possibly reside in the recruitment done by Luis and Henrique, although for different purposes. The appointment of several servants from the seigniorial household of *infante* Henrique to hold positions in the Inquisition was a manner of responding to the lack of resources plaguing this institution, which, in the decades of 1530s and 1540s, was in an early stage of organic definition.⁵⁴ More than the mobility of human resources inherent here, it is important to highlight the capitalization of close ties established with their servants. A strong indication of this dynamic is evident in the case of *infante* Luis who used a considerable number of servants of his household in the war against Islam and/or in the works for the Order of Malta (through the Priory of Crato). The fact that he had prepared and used a military contingent, of which his servants formed part, in the expedition to Tunis in 1535 is perhaps the most celebrated example of his household pursuing political projects.⁵⁵

Conclusion

An analysis of the formation of the seigniorial households of the Manueline *infantes* and their political use within the context of the sixteenth-century Portuguese monarchy clearly reveals that the donation of large households

53 A slight resemblance occurs in the domestic offices. For a similar case in the German princely courts of the same period, see Dieter Stievermann, "Southern German Courts around 1500," in Asch and Birke (eds), *Princes, Patronage*, pp. 157-72.

54 José Pedro Paiva and Giuseppe Marcocci, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa, 1536-1821* (Lisbon, 2013), p. 39.

55 Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "L'Expédition de Túnis (1535): Images, Interprétations, Répercussions Culturelles," in eds Bartolomé Benassar and Robert Sauzet, *Chrétiens et Musulmans à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1998), pp. 75-132.

and estates to the *infantes* had remarkable consequences from the point of view of the reorganization of the various strata of the nobility, at both the bottom and top of the pyramid. The first consequences are notable from the point of view of the first nobility of the kingdom. Some high nobility of great prominence, such as the Duke of Braganza or the Marquis of Vila Real, were relegated to the second tier with the provision of the Manueline bloodline. There is a large difference between how *infantes* were granted households during the periods of João I/Duarte I and Manuel I/João III. In the early days of the Avis dynasty, there were no seigniorial households of great power in terms of territorial jurisdictions and number of servants (with the exception of the House of Braganza), but the picture changes significantly during the reign of Manuel I and João III. The need to reconfigure the upper strata of the nobility was, therefore, obvious.

As a result of this transformation, there was a notable increase in competition among the various levels of nobility. Despite the said increase, it is proven by the disputes between the large households that the role of small and medium nobility must be highlighted in this context. Individuals at these levels would, in principle, have the most to gain from the service to these households of the *infantes*. Obtaining posts close to the descendants of the king served to catapult these groups from minor nobility to eventually achieving a title. In order to foment this competitive potential, the monarchy decided to transfer a series of privileges, rights and jurisdictions that, at their limit, were almost as attractive as the royal sphere. It was the best way of guaranteeing that these households, as a general rule, were able to satisfy the local and regional elites in the distribution of a series of bounties and offices. Through this dynamic, it would be easier to establish clientele relations in these peripheral spaces and obtain the political loyalty of these social strata.

While detailed studies about patronage of these households from Manueline *infantes* are still taking form, little evidence suggests that high palatine officers had a prominent role in patron-client relationships. Intimacy with the prince could lead to future profits for a servant and, eventually, for some members of his respective family as well. Examples within this volume, regarding other European geographies, show similarities in this. Alexander Brondarbit notes that in fifteenth-century England, for example, servants of the royal household would benefit from the monarch's patronage and thus were also able to sustain vast networks at the local and regional level.

From the point of view of the Crown, the advantages of making the entourages of the *infantes* autonomous surpassed the risks. The legal mechanisms of control and interpersonal relationships between the royal family members and nobility during this period would benefit from the political uses that the

monarchy granted to these households. These structures would not lack material and human resources to compete with the main noble households of the kingdom based on the coeval hierarchy. Incidentally, the monarch frequently exploited his brothers and their households to prevent the growth of the high nobility, such as Braganza and Aveiro. Factors such as political marriage and the careful provision of some of the *infantes* in the ecclesiastical sphere were important in controlling the interrelationships of the power spheres and institutions present in sixteenth-century society.

On the other hand, it was important to enhance the role of the royal household members within the entourages of the Manueine *infantes*. Politically committed courtiers would favor the way these constellations of courts were used by the monarchy. The tendency for the king to control other related households, by office nomination, was apparent since the early days. Other case studies in this volume present resemblances. For example, Germán Igea argues that the reign of the Spanish Catholic Kings was rich in attempts to control the Castilian-Aragonese court according to the relative positioning of respective households. Hence, the household's autonomy only could be achieved by having direct control over office nomination.

It is not possible, in my opinion, to speak of an increased rate of political centralization during this period, given the distribution of powers experienced in the kingdom until the end of the *Ancien Régime*. Further, it must be stressed that the households of the *infantes* would contribute to this phenomenon by not being more extensive. Even paradoxically, the redistribution of resources and privileges through these households would result, in the mid- to the long-term, in an increase of territorial control by the Crown. In short, throughout the sixteenth century, these households would become alternative centers of power, with a strong connection to the peripheral powers and a considerable clientele network, thus constituting true competitors in the political field of the Portuguese monarchy.

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Index

- Aachen 53
 Abreu, Vasco Gomes de 258, 261, 275
 Accounts
 Household 290, 295, 297, 324-25, 342
 Privy Purse 342
Acostamento 394
acutezza recondite 311, 324
 Adelheid, empress 6, 27, 44, 45-57, 62-63, 65
 Administration 15-16, 42, 57, 65, 90, 95-98, 116, 120, 123, 129-30, 174, 191, 256, 268, 271, 298, 340, 396
 Adultery 262, 267
 advice literature, *see What the Goodwife Taught her Daughter*
 Ælfgeat 78, 84
 Ælfheah, *cyninges discðen* of King Eadred 81n43
 Ælfhelm Polga 79, 80n36, 82n48
 Ælfhild, wife of Ealdorman Ælfwold 79n29
 Ælfmær 75-77
 Ælfnoth, sword-polisher of Athelstan ætheling 75
 Ælfsige, Bishop of Old Minster, Winchester 81n40, 82n46, 91
 Ælfweard 78, 81n40
 Ælfwine 82n46, 82n47, 83, 83n54
 Ælfwold, ealdorman 79n29
 Ælfwolde, priest of Æthelflæd 80n37
 Ælfwynn of Mercia 23, 29 Æthelfand 84
 Æthelflæd of Mercia 6, 16-19, 21-31, 33-34, 36-37, 44, 80n37, 82n48, 267-68
 Æthelgifu 80n37, 83
Ætheling 7, 57, 73-94
 Æthelmær 84-85
 Æthelmære, priest of Æthelflæd 80n37
 Æthelred of Mercia 17, 19, 22-26, 29-30
 Æthelred II "the Unready," king of the English 44, 73-75, 77-78, 80-82, 87-88, 90
 Æthelric, Bishop of Sherborne 85-86
 Æthelsige, artisan employed by King Eadred 83
 Æthelsige, bishop of Cornwall 85
 Æthelstan, chaplain of Edward the Elder 79n29
 Æthelstan, king of the English 24, 44, 57, 81, 83n54
 Æthelweard, seneschal of King Edgar 81n40, 84
 Æthelwine, retainer of Athelstan ætheling 75, 77
 Æthelwold, associate of Athelstan ætheling 91
 Afonso II, king of Portugal 268
 Afonso III, king of Portugal 273
 Afonso V, king of Portugal 295
 Afonso, Inês Dias 256-57
 Afonso, *infante* 382, 384, 388-92
 Afonso, João, ombudsperson 258, 264n55
 Afonso, Pedro, huntsman 258
 Afonso, Violante 258
 Agnes, empress 54
 Albuquerque, Fernando Afonso de, mestre de Santiago 249
 Alenquer 263-65
 Alfons II of Aragon 228n9
 Alfonso X of Castile 273
 Alfonso XI of Castile 232, 254
 Anget, Agnes 169, 186, 193
 Anne of Brittany, queen-consort of France 313-16, 318n42
 Anne of France 313-16, 318n42, 319, 321-24, 329-30
 Anne de Lusignan (Anne of Cyprus), duchess of Savoy 327
 Annuities 171, 179, 184, 212, 217, 392n35
 Almær, chaplain of Ælfhild 79n29
 Alms, almsgiving 107, 125, 129, 138n87, 304
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *Mercian Register* 18
 Agobard, archbishop of Lyons 43
 Airani family 58
 Alba, duke of 302
 Albion, Violante de 304
 Alfred, king of Wessex 17, 22, 25, 29, 74
 Alix of Brittany 118, 121-22
 Alsace 53
Amicitia 34, 62, 293
 Andeiro, Fernando Rodriguez 253
 Andeiro, Juan Fernández de 250, 253, 257, 261, 263, 265-66

- Andeiro, Sancha de 257, 261-63
 Anjou, Margaret of 157, 163, 214-15, 327, 353
 Anne of France 310, 313-16, 318n42, 321-23, 329
 Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury 62
 Anselm II, the Younger, bishop of Lucca 61-63
 Aragón, Marina de 304
 Arduinus de Palude, count 57-58
 Arnau de França, Pere 234-35
 Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy 218
 Assassination 249, 253, 260, 266
 Ataíde, Filipa de 279, 281
 Ataíde, Gonçalo Viegas de 257
 Ataíde, Martim Gonçalves de 257, 263n55, 279-81
 Artald, archbishop of Reims 32
 Arthur of Brittany 115, 117-19, 134, 137
 Arthur Tudor 328, 342, 345, 347-49, 353
 Avis dynasty 248-70

 Baeza, Gonzalo de 342, 346-47
 Baeza, João Afonso de 266
 ban, right of 60
 Bar, Joan of, countess of Surrey 169, 174, 189-90, 193
 Barnes, Sir 369
 Barcelona 231-32, 236, 237n50
 Barnet, battle of 212
 Beaufort, Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby 353
 Beaujeu, Pierre de 314, 324
 Beatrice, countess of Tuscany 44, 55-56, 59
 Beatriz of Castile
 Beatriz de Portugal, sister of King Fernando of Portugal 250n7, 255, 259-61
 Beatriz, daughter of king Fernando and Queen Leonor Teles of Portugal 249-53, 257-63, 265-66, 268, 386, 388-91
 Beaumaris Castle 144, 159, 163
 Bedyk, Margaret 170, 193
 Belvale, John 178
 Belvale, Katherine *see also* Bronart, Katherine 176-78
Beowulf 42
 Berengar I, king of Italy 45
 Berengar II, king of Italy 50, 52
 Bernat de Cabrera 234n38, 240
 Bernat dez Pont 234n38, 240, 241n60
 Bernold of Constance 61
 Beauchamp, Roger, Lord 211
 Bertrada, Queen of Francia 6
 Blanca, queen of Navarre 293-95, 305
 bloodletting 124, 129
 Blount, Humphrey 368
 Blunt, Henry 370
 Bobbio, abbey of St Columban 49
 body politic 227, 243
 Boleyn, Anne, queen-consort of England 350
 Bolingbroke, Roger 152-53
 Bond, Thomas 122n20, 133
 Bonizo, bishop of Sutri 61
Book of the Courtier 324
 Botelho, Constança Martins 258
 Bourbon, house of 310, 312, 316, 325, 330
 Braganza family 389, 393, 395-96, 399-400
 Brandon, Charles, duke of Suffolk 349-50
 Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeille, lord of 313-16
 Braose, Matilda de 134
 Braose, William de III 134
 Bret, Matilda (Maud) 170, 186, 193
 Brihtmaer, Abbot of New Minster, Winchester 91n10
 Brihtric the Red, thegn of Dorset 86
 Bristol Castle 116-17, 122-27, 129, 131-34
 Bristol fair 105, 109, 127
 Brittany, Eleanor of 96, 115-38
 Bronard, Odin 178, 188, 197
 Bronart, Edward 178-79, 197
 Bronart, Katherine; *see also* Belvale, Katherine 169, 176-78, 193
 Brun, archbishop of Cologne 49
 Bruno, bishop of Langres 51
 Brent, Roger, mayor of Canterbury 209
 Bruno, archduke of Cologne 27, 34, 51
Brut chronicle 155
 Brycheiniog, kingdom of Wales 19n14, 33
 Burgh, Elizabeth de, Lady of Clare 97, 103, 172, 174-75, 193
burh
 Worcester 23-25, 29-30, 33
 Gloucester 23, 29-30, 33
 Burgundy, archduke of 302, 349, 351
 Burley, Sir Simon 211

- Burrell, John 368
 Butler, Ralph, Lord Sudeley 213

 Cáceres, Álvaro Mendes de 253
 Cáceres, Francesca de 352
 Caister Castle 219
 Camões, Vasco Peres de 261, 263n55
 Candlemas, *see* Feast of the Purification
 Canossa (Reggio Emilia) 63
 Canterbury
 Castle 123
 City 209-10
 Capella, Miguel 234
 Carlos v, emperor; *see* Charles V
 Carr, Rowland, Sir 367
 Carrillo, Alfonso, archbishop of Toledo
 302-303
 Carvalho, Iria Gonçalves do 258
 Castiglione, Baldassare 319n48
 Castro, Álvaro Peres de 255n28, 259
 Castro, Beatriz de 275, 278
 Castro, Inês de 250n7, 258, 281
 Castro, João de 281
 Castro, Pedro de 255n28, 259, 264
 Catalina of Lancaster, queen-consort of
 Castile 293-94
 Catarina, queen-consort of Portugal 384,
 389
 Catherine of Aragon, Queen of England 8,
 339-54
 Cely, Richard 219
 Cevada 394
 Charles, duke of Lower Lotharingia 27-28,
 51
 Charlotte of Savoy, queen-consort of France
 326-28
 charters
 Anglo-Saxon 18n11, 23-27, 29-30
 Carolingian 32-33, 57-60
 chastity 11n44, 317
 Chaucer, Thomas 170n6, 213
 Chaulcombe, John 178, 189
 chess 325
 Chertsey Abbey 80n34
 Chester Castle 159, 162-63
 childlessness 312n17
 of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester 133

 chronicles
 An English Chronicle 153, 155, 161
 The Brut 145n17, 155, 160, 162
Chlamys 50
 Christ Church, Canterbury 78n24, 91n108
 Churrachao, Fernam Peres 253
 Cinque Ports 210
 Clare, Eleanor de; *see* Despenser, Eleanor
 Clare, Elizabeth de; *see* Burgh, Elizabeth de
 Clare, Gilbert de, earl of Gloucester and
 Hertford 99, 105-106
 Clare, Margaret de, Lady Gaveston 194
 Claude of France, queen-consort of France
 312
 Clerk 50, 98, 101, 103, 124, 152-53, 208, 210,
 290, 361-6
 Bolingbroke, Roger 152-53
 household clerks 98, 101, 103, 124, 152,
 290, 361-63
 parliament clerks 208
 Clinton, Ida de 175, 187, 184
Cnappa (knave) 83n53
cniht (retainer) 82
 Cnut, king of England, Denmark and Norway
 52, 82, 89-90, 92
 Cobham, Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester 8,
 101n22, 108, 112n45, 116, 142-64
 Cobham, Reginald 142, 154
 Coimbra 265, 275, 282, 392
Comitatus 20, 55
 Compton (West Sussex) 89
 Conan, Alice 186, 189, 194
 confinement 8, 115-38
 conjugal 131-32, 135, 305
 Conrad II, emperor 48
 Constable 123-24, 130, 132, 159n98, 162, 208,
 302
 Constance, duchess of Brittany and Rich-
 mond 115, 117, 122, 137
 Constance of Castile 272-73
 Cook, Sir Thomas 218
 Cooks 124, 280, 361n22
 Corby, Joan 169, 176-77, 182, 194
 Corby, Robert 182, 194
 Coronation *ordines* 45
 Conspiracy/ies 9, 246-69, 381n10
Conversos, *see* also Jews 302

- Corfe Castle 121-22, 128, 134
 Corrodies 171, 179, 184-86, 193-97
 Corsena family 59-60
 see also Paganus de Corsena, Hildebrand
 de Corsena, Roland de Corsena
 Cortes de Coimbra (1385) 265
 Coup d'état 267
 Coutinho, Fernão Martins 283
 Coutinho, Gonçalo Vasques 257, 275,
 279n42, 281, 282
 Coutinho, Guiomar 389-90
 Coutinho, Mecia Vasques 257
 Coutinho, Rui Vasques 283
 Coutinho, Vasco Fernandes 281, 290
 Crown of Aragon (Aragon, Catalonia,
 Valencia) 2, 7, 225-44
 Cunha, João Lourenço da 254
 Custodia 137
- damsels 101, 108-109, 138n86, 169-97, 256,
 263, 281
 Davempport, Adam 275
 day-book 96-111
 Defensor of Ligugé 47
 Despenser, Eleanor de Clare, Lady 173-75,
 177, 183, 187-88, 190, 193
 Despenser, Hugh the younger 177n33, 183,
 187, 190, 193, 211
 Despenser, Hugh the elder 181, 190-91
 Destruction of households 33-36, 268
 Deusdedit, cardinal 62
 Dias de Sousa, Lopo 265, 275
 Dibertus (Daibertus) of Revere 60
 Dietrich, bishop of Metz 49
 diet-roll, *see* day-book
 Dinis de Portugal 258, 260-61, 268
 Dinis, *infante* of Portugal 255, 259
 Dinis, king of Portugal 251, 255
 discreet dissimulation 314, 319-21, 324
 domestic republics 309-10, 329-30
 donations 10, 29, 31-2, 248-49, 251-53, 257,
 259, 261, 265-66, 274n19, 281-82, 383,
 384n19, 387, 389, 393, 398
 Donizo, monk at St Apollonio 58, 62
 door, lock and key 131
 Dorset 78, 84, 86, 342
 Dortigues, Galceran 239-41
 Dover 111, 210
- dress and display 64, 108, 112, 128, 149-50,
 152, 157, 160, 164, 203, 330, 343, 345,
 358n5, 361, 363
 Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester 128,
 149-50, 152, 157, 160, 164
 Duarte, King of Portugal (1391-1438) 267,
 285, 382
 Duarte, *infante* (1515-40) 378-400
- Eadred, King of the English 80-83
 Eadmund, chaplain of Edward the Elder
 80n31
 Eadric, ealdorman of Mercia 86-89
 Eadwig, king of the English 82, 88-89
 Ealdorman 24, 26, 83-87, 89-90
 Ealdred, *regis discifer* of King Eadwig 81n43
 Ealhswith, queen of Wessex 17
 Ealdwine, priest 78
 Eanes, Alçom 258
 Eanes, Gil 258, 264
 Eanes, Urraca 258
 Eanes Fogaça, Lourenço 275
 Eanulf, seneschal of King Edgar 81
 East Anglia 87n86, 217
 Ecceman, abbot of Selz 47, 63
 Ecgberht, abbot 33, 36
 Edgar Ætheling 75
 Edgar, King of the English 81-82
 Edmund I, king of Wessex 28, 82-92
 Edmund II "Ironside", king of England 7, 44,
 74-75, 78-80
 Education 179, 316, 327-29
 Edward the Confessor, king of England 52,
 74, 78n24, 89
 Edward the Elder, King of the Anglo-Saxons
 19, 21-22, 29, 74, 79-80, 82
 Edward the Martyr, king of England 79n24,
 82
 Edward I, king of England 105, 134-35, 174,
 203-205, 233n33
 Edward II, king of England 9, 110, 169,
 173-78, 183, 186-91, 207
 Edward III, king of England 142, 170, 175-77,
 179, 180n52, 182, 184-86, 191, 196, 211, 272
 Edward IV, king of England 146n24, 212-13,
 217-19, 230, 263
 Edward of Lancaster, Prince of Wales 216
 Eleanor, daughter of Edward II and Isabella
 197

- Eleanor of Castile, queen of England
106n33, 188, 194, 196
- Elizabeth of York, queen-consort of England
328-29, 340, 342, 345, 353
- Elrington, Sir John 210
- Emma, queen of France 27, 44-45, 51
- Emma, queen of England 52
- Enrique II, king of Castile 248-49, 253-54,
259-60, 263, 266-68
- Enrique IV, king of Castile 295, 297,
302Enriquez, Enrique
- Enriquez, Francisca 304
- Enseignements à ma fille (Lessons for my
Daughter)* 309-21, 324, 330
- enslaved men (*witafæstnemen*) 76
- Epila, battle of 235
- Ermengard, wife of Adalbert, margrave of
Ivrea 45
- Essex 217-19
- Eucharist (desecration of, dignity of, rise of)
230, 237-38
- Exeter (Devon) 210, 342
- Falaise, Joan de 173, 177, 187, 194
- Falaise, John de 183, 194
- Faukes, John 208
- Feast of Corpus Christi 237
- Feast of the Purification 103, 106
- Felipe I, King of Spain 302, 304
- Felipe II, King of Spain (Philip I, king of
England) 295
- fere*, see travelling companion
- Fernandes, Domingos 256
- Fernandes, Fernando 258, 264
- Fernández, Diego 352
- Fernando, Portuguese *infante* 378-400
- Fernando I, de Antequera, king of the Crown
of Aragon 293
- Fernando II, king of the Crown Aragon 9,
288-305, 338-40, 344, 346, 349, 352
- Fernando I, king of Portugal 9, 248-69,
281-82
- Fidalgos* 384, 394-95
- Figueiredo, Diogo Afonso de 261
- Fiorenzuola d'Arda, battle at 45
- Fitzrauf, Robert 366
- Five Boroughs 77
- Flooard of Reims 21, 28
- Fogge, Sir John 209n27, 210
- Fonseca, Pedro Rodrigues da 257
- Food and drink
ale 124-27, 187, 350, 367, 369-71, 375
dairy 126-27, 375
fish 101-102, 105, 109, 125-27, 183, 370,
373-75
pork 109, 125-26, 372
produce 80n37, 127
spices 125-27, 372
victuals 103, 109
- Foro* 384, 395
- Fortescue, Sir John 206
- Fortún de Liso 234
- Frederick, count of Mömpelgard 62
- Garth, Edward 368n50
- Gaveston, Margaret de; see Clare, Margaret de
- Geneville, Joan de 195
- Geneville, Katherine de, Prioress of Aconbury
106, 110
- Geoffrey II, duke of Brittany and Richmond
8, 115-18, 122, 137
- Geraldini, Alessandro 346
- Gerberga, queen of West Francia 16-22,
26-29, 31-37
Embroidery ('Kriegsfahne') 34
- Gerberga, abbess of Gandersheim 49
- Gerbert of Aurillac, see Sylvester II
- Gerhard of Augsburg, see also *Vita Sancti
Odalrici episcopi Augustini* 48
- Gervis, Henry 368
- Gilbert de Greenville 128
- Gloucester 23, 29-30, 33, 105
- Gloucester, Eleanor (Cobham), Duchess of
8, 142-64
- Gloucester, Humphrey, Duke of 170n5, 363
- Gloucester Castle 122, 124, 128, 136
- Godfrey III "the Hunchback," duke of Lower
Lotharingia 63
- Godfrey, count of Bouillon 63
- Godwine, Earl 89-90
- Gonçalo, João 265
- Gonçalves, Álvaro 257, 262, 264n55
- Gonçalves de Ataíde, Martim 257, 263n55,
279-81
- Gonçalves de Moura, Beatriz 275, 278,
280-83, 285

- Gonçalves de Moura, Leonor 283
 Gonzaga family 58
 Good Parliament 211
 Goodrich Castle 102, 104-110
 gossip and hearsay 242, 310-11, 312, 314-15, 352
 grandmothers 52, 180, 313-14, 320, 326-27
 Grandon, Elizabeth 216
 Grandon, Henry 216
 Grandon, John 216
 Greenwich, manor of 108, 143-44, 147, 150-64
 Greenwich, palace of 344, 349
 Gregorian Reform 61-62
 Gregory VII, pope 62
 Gubertus, monk and provost of Bobbio 49
- Hadwig, *comitissa* 27, 34
 Hainault, Jacqueline of 143
 Hampden, Edmund, esquire 215-17
 Haro, duke of 302
 Harold Harefoot 52
 Hastings, Anne, countess of Huntingdon 370n60
 Hastings, George, earl of Huntingdon 370n60
 Hastings, William Lord 210, 212, 217, 230, 240n59
 Hattcliff, Master William 210
 Helde, Isabella de la 175, 180-81, 185, 195
 Henrique, Portuguese *infante* 378-400
 Henry I, duke of Bavaria 20, 26-27, 45, 49
 Henry I, king of East Francia 20, 52
 Henry II, king of England 115
 Henry III, king of England 8, 96, 99, 106n33, 115-38
 Henry IV, king of England 156-57
 Henry V, king of England 215
 Henry VI, king of England 8, 143, 146, 153-54, 157-58, 161, 163-64, 205, 213-15
 Henry VII, king of England 210, 338-40, 342, 344-45, 348-49, 352-53, 358, 375
 Henry VIII, king of England 338-39, 344, 348-51, 353, 358
 Henry III, Holy Roman emperor 54-55
 Henry IV, Holy Roman emperor 54-55, 57, 63
 Henry V, Holy Roman emperor 55, 57, 63
 Henry, duke of Lancaster 272
- Hijar, Inés de 304
 Hildebrand de Corsena 59-60
 see also Corsena family, Paganus de
 Corsena, Roland de Corsena
 Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims 6, 15, 43
 Holcombe (Devon) 78, 80, 84-87, 92
 Home, John 152-53
 Household offices and officers
 almoner 230, 304
 chamberlain (*camerarius*, *cubicularius*, *bedpegn*, *burpegn*) 15, 44, 82n43, 84, 95-96, 187-88, 210-13, 216, 227, 230, 241, 353, 369n56, 372, 383, 385
 chancellor 95, 227, 230, 234n38, 240-41, 250, 273, 275, 280, 292n9
 chaplain (*mæssepreoste*, *sacerdos*) 75, 77, 79-80, 83, 88, 100, 109, 124, 153, 273, 275, 292n9, 362, 368, 385
 clerk 50, 98, 101, 103, 124, 152-53, 208, 210, 290, 361-63
 confessor 47, 62-63, 227, 230, 275, 302, 346, 352
 councilor 9, 190, 218, 368n49, 369n54 and n56
 cupbearer (*propincernarius*) 60, 84, 362, 385
 falconer 227
 governor general 225, 228n14, 231
 guards, guard at arms 123-24, 129, 137, 241, 261, 351
 huntsman (*hunta*, *headorhunton*, *venator*) 75, 82, 258
 jester (*ioculator*) 78n24
 keeper of the king's robes (*hrældægn*) 84
 lieutenant 23n38, 214, 219, 228n14, 323
 pages 187, 206, 211, 304, 351, 385
 pantry 359, 362, 387
 prosecutor 230
 protonotary 241
 provost 383, 385
 scribe 58, 239, 280
 secretary (*scriptor*) 83, 153, 210, 275-76, 280, 304, 318, 350
 seneschal (*discpegn*, *discpene*, *regis discifer*) 75-76, 78, 81, 90
 servant (*vassalus*) 82, 298, 351-52, 363, 376, 399
 stable officer 125, 279, 364, 387

- stag-huntsman 75, 82
 steward 81n39, 95, 98-99, 102, 109, 124,
 210, 213, 215, 217n67, 227, 228n14, 292,
 304, 368n48, 372, 385
 sumpter 361n23, 364
 sword-polisher (*swurdwhitan*) 75
 tailors 101, 174, 177-78, 183, 187, 194, 280,
 370
 treasurer (*thesaurarus*) 84, 172, 209n27,
 210, 227, 263, 275-76, 342, 348, 368n48
 vice chancellor 230, 241
 Huesca, Jews in 226, 228-32, 234-38, 241-44
 Hugh, abbot of Cluny 63
 Hugh, abbot of Flavigny 61
 Hugh, bishop of Mantua 57
 Hugh, bishop of Lyons 63
 Hugh 'the Great' of Paris, count and duke
 27-28, 31
 Hugo, *massarius*, follower of Countess
 Matilda 60
 Hundred Years' War 249, 266, 319
 Hungerford, Sir Edmund 216
 Imprisonment 262, 267-68
 of Eleanor of Brittany 8, 115-38
 of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester 142-64
 of Joan of Navarre 156-57, 160
 Ingelbert, notary 57
 Invasion of England (1326) 191
 Iohannes, *riparius* 60
 Isabeau of Bavaria, queen-consort of France
 322-23, 328
 Isabel, Portuguese *infanta* 285
 Isabel I, queen-regnant of Castile 9, 288-89,
 294-98, 301-305, 338, 340, 342, 346, 349,
 351-52, 385, 390-91
 Isabel de Beaumont 272
 Isabel of Braganza 389
 Isabel de Briouze (Braose) 134
 Isabel of Castile, queen-consort of Portugal
 385
 Isabella of France, queen-consort of England
 8-9, 110, 169-97
 Isabelle of Scotland 128, 162n114
 Isle of Man 159, 162-63
 Jacme del Spital 234
 Jacquetta of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford
 212
 Jaime, *infante* of Portugal 296
 Jaume II, king of Aragon 227n9
 Jaume de Montjuïc 232
 Jaume dez Monells 241
 Jews, Crown of Aragon
 anti-Judaism 236-38
conversos 302
 mistreatment of, Crown of Aragon
 225-26, 230-31, 236-44
 royal protection of, Crown of Aragon
 230-36
servi camerae nostre 236n33
 Jews, England
 execution of 231
 expulsion 233n33
 Jews, Portugal 251, 263, 266
 Joan I, king of Aragon 7, 225
 Joan, daughter of Edward II and Isabella
 193-94, 196-97
 Joan of Acre, countess of Gloucester and
 Hertford 105-106
 Joan de Valence, countess of Pembroke 5, 8,
 95-113, 116, 339
 Joana, Doña 278, 281
 João de Portugal 249-50, 255-56, 259-63, 268
 João I, king of Portugal (Mestre de Avis) 9,
 250-51, 261-62, 265, 267, 271-73, 276-79,
 282, 382, 399
 João II, king of Portugal 295
 João III, king of Portugal 10, 382, 388-89, 391,
 399
 Jocelin of Wells, bishop of Bath 131
 Johan Eximenez Durrea 234-35
 Johannes, chaplain of Edward the Elder 80
 John, king of England 8, 96, 106n31, 115-23,
 127-30, 133-38
 John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster 98, 250,
 266, 272
 John of Mantua 61-62
 Jorge, duke of Coimbra 393
 Jourdemayne, Margery 155
 Juan, *infante* 296
 Juan I, king of Castile 250-51, 260, 262-63,
 265, 267, 276, 282
 Juan II, king of Castile 293-94

- Juan II, king of the Crown of Aragon 293,
298, 301-302, 305
- Juan I, king of Navarre 293-95
- Juana, *infanta* 295, 302
- Juana, queen of Naples 297
- Juana de Portugal, queen of Castile 295
- juste ypocrisy* 312
- Karl, *cniht* of King Cnut 82
- Kenilworth Castle 159, 162-63, 344
- Knyvet, William 369
- Lacy, Henry de, earl of Lincoln 97, 110
- Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester, The* 8,
142-64
- Landa, Richard de 128
- land grants 179-80, 265
- Lanercost Chronicle* 133-34
- Langland, William 208
- Laon 20-21, 27-28, 31-32
- Launge, Joan 177, 181, 187, 190, 195
- Launge, John 177, 181, 190, 195
- Leça do Bailio 255
- Legrave, Alice de la 178, 183, 188, 196
- Legrave, Cecily 178, 189, 196
- Lemos, Margarita de 304
- Leofric, *discpegn* 82n43
- Leofsige, goldsmith of Ælfhelm Polga 83
- Leofsunu, Abbot of Cerne 84
- Leofwine 78, 88, 90-91
- Leonor of Austria 391
- Leonor Teles, queen of Portugal 9, 248-69,
282
- Lerpole (Liverpool) Castle 144, 158-59
- libraries 326-28
- Lira, Lopo Gomes de 253
- Lisbon 255, 263, 265-66, 392
- Liudgard, nun at Quedlinburg 48
- livery 97-98, 108, 169, 171, 173-75, 177, 182-83,
215
- Lleida 236n45
- Lope de Gurrea 241
- Lopes, Fernão 9, 248-51, 254-62, 267-68, 273,
275-77, 279n42, 282
- Lopes de Abreu, Fernão 275
- Lopez de Ayala, Pero 254, 267
- Lopez de Sesse, Garcia 234
- Lourenço, Branca 257
- Lothair, king of West Francia 51
- Lothar, king of Francia 21, 27-29, 32, 34
- Lothar, king of Italy 45, 50-51
- Louis IX, king of France 227n9
- Louis XI, king of France 218, 230, 313-14, 320,
326-28
- Louis IV, king of Francia 20-21, 26-29, 31-33
- Lovell, John 212
- Lude, Louise de Daillon du 313-14
- Luis, Portuguese *infante* 378-400
- Lyfing, Bishop of Wells 85-86
- Lyons, Richard 211
- Machiavelli, Niccoló 316-17
- Madeleine of France, regent of Navarre
326-27
- Magdeburg 53
- Magna Carta 119
- Mainz 49, 53
- Maiolus, abbot of Cluny 63
- Manegold of Lautenbach 62
- Mann, goldsmith and slave of Æthelgifu 83
- Manrique, Íñigo 351
- Manrique, Pedro Gomez 351
- Manuel I, king of Portugal 10, 386, 388-89,
391-92, 399
- Manuel, Elvira de Villena Suárez de Figueroa
346, 351
- Manuel, Juan 351
- Margaret of Anjou, queen-consort of England
157, 163, 214-15, 327, 353
- Margaret (Margarita) of Austria 316
- Margaret of France, queen-consort of
England 175, 193-94, 196-97
- Marguerite of Navarre, queen-regnant of
Navarre 312-14
- Maria, Portuguese *infanta* 250, 254, 256,
260, 268, 382, 384, 387-92
- María of Castile, queen-lieutenant of the
Crown of Aragon 229
- María of Castile and Aragon, queen-consort
of Portugal 385, 390
- Maria de Luna, queen-consort of the Crown
of Aragon 293
- Maria de Luna, wife of Enrique Enríquez
304
- Marie of Anjou, queen-consort of France
326-27

- Marinho, Pais Rodrigues 257
 Marquis of Vila Real 399
 Marlborough Castle 122, 124-25, 134, 365-66
 Martí I, king of Aragon 228, 234
 Martins, Afonso 258, 275
 Martins, João 258
 Mary I Tudor, queen of England 295, 350, 370n60
 Meneses, Leonor de 259
 Meneses, Martinho de 279-80
 Meira, Fernão Gonçalves de 257
 Meira, Teresa de 258
 Marozia, ruler of Rome 45
Moradia 394
 Mortimer, Roger, of Wigmore 169, 195
 Martinus (*medicus*) 60
 Mathilda, abbess of Quedlinburg 44-45, 47-48, 65
 Mathilda of Ringelheim, queen of the East Franks 20, 27, 47, 52
 Matilda, countess of Tuscany 6, 44, 55-65
 matrilineal dynasties 310, 328-30
 Melo (Moura), Beatriz de 279
 Meneses, Martinho de 279-80
 Merseburg 53
 Michaelmas 99, 107, 111n43, 117
Milites 76
Minister 81-82, 84-86, 89-91
 Mirebeau, siege of (1202) 117, 120
 "Mirror of Princes" 7, 46, 311, 319, 330
 misgovernance
 Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester 8, 152, 157-58, 164
 Henry VI, king of England 153, 157, 205, 215, 327
 Montfort, Eleanor de, countess of Leicester 96-97, 110-12, 134
 Montgomery, Sir Thomas 217-19
 Montoya, Catalina de 346
 Montoya, Katherine de (d. 1520) 352
 Morcar 82, 88-90
 Morgan, Llewelyn 368
 Much Wenlock 25

 Nauntel, John 177, 179, 196
 Nauntel, Juliana 177, 187, 196
 Navarre, Joan of 156-57, 160
 New Year's gifts 173, 176, 183, 186

 Nieta, sersvant of Catherine of Aragon 348
 Nithard, jester of Edmund Ironside 78n24
 Nonantola (Modena) abbey 47, 63
 Nordhausen 52
 Norfolk 177, 189, 217-18
 Normandy 74, 117, 119, 121
 Norwich 210, 217, 275
 Nunes, Beatriz 256-57
 nurses 111, 178, 180-81, 191, 258

 Odilo, abbot of Cluny 47, 50, 63
 Epitaphium domine Adalheide auguste 47, 50
 Offa, king of Mercia 87n86
 Ordeah 79n29
Ordenacions de cort (palatine ordinances) 7, 227-30, 232, 238, 243-44
 Osorio, Maria 347
 Otto I, emperor 20, 26-28, 32, 45-46, 48-50, 53, 56-57
 Otto II, emperor 49-53, 56
 Otto III, emperor 48-50, 53, 56

 Pacheco, Diogo Lopes 259-60, 268
 Paganus de Corsena 59-60
 see also Corsena family, Hildebrand de Corsena, Roland de Corsena
 Pais, Álvaro 250, 265
 Palencia, Alonso de 301
 Palomar, Domingo 234
 Palude family 57-58
 Pardons 163, 172, 205
 Paston, John the younger 212
 Paston, Sir John 210, 219
 Paul "of Bernried" 62
 Paulus, *canevarius* 60
 Paumart, Agnes 169, 176-77, 179, 187, 196
 Paumart, Nicholas 177, 179, 196
 paupers 102-103, 107, 109, 112
 Pavia 53
 Payn, Thomas 276
 Pecquigny, Marie 174, 196
 Pedro I, king of Castile 176, 249-50, 253, 266, 272
 Pedro I, king of Portugal 258-59, 277, 281
 Pedro IV, "the Ceremonious", king of the Crown of Aragon, *see* Pere III, king of the Crown of Aragon

- Pegognaga (Mantua) 60
 Pembroke, earls and countesses of 8, 96, 98,
 105, 111, 174, 189, 194, 197
 Percy, Henry, earl of Northumberland 359,
 361
 Pere II, king of the Crown of Aragon 227n9
 Pere III, king of the Crown of Aragon, 7,
 225-44, 291-92
 Pereira, Leonor 279
 Pereira, Nuno 394
 Pereira, Nuno Álvares 250, 265
 Peres, Afonso 256-58
 Pessanha, Lançarote 249, 264-65
 Peter of Dreux 121-22
 Peter de Maulay 130
 Peter de Rivall 129
 Pérez de Almazán, García 304
 Perrers, Alice 170, 211
 Philip II (Philip Augustus), king of France
 118-20, 137
 Philip II, king of Spain, *see* Felipe II, King of
 Spain
 Philippa of Hainault, queen of England
 175-79, 183, 186, 193-97
 Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal 9,
 271-85
 Phillipps, Thomas, Sir 368
 Picker, Thomas 369
 Picquigny, Treaty of 218, 230
 Pimentel, Catalina 304
 Pimentel, João Afonso 253, 257, 263n53 and
 n55, 265
pincerna (butler) 84, 95
 Pizan, Christine de 312-13, 319-24, 329
 Plà, Pere de 241
Placita 56
 Plantagenet family 115-38, 142, 169-97, 358
 Pliego, Ana de 348
 Pole, Margaret, countess of Salisbury 344,
 353
 Pole, William de la, Duke of Suffolk 215
 Porricas, servant to Catherine of Aragon
 348
 Portocarrero, João Rodriguez 253
 Portocarrero, Luis, marquis of Cadiz 302
 Pragmatism 317-18, 328
 Priour, Emma 175, 186, 196
 prudence 317, 321
 Puebla, Rodrigo de 346
 Quedlinburg 44-45, 47, 53, 65
 Quistello (Mantua) 60
Quo Warranto 233n33
 Radcliffe, Robert, Lord Fitzwalter, earl of
 Sussex 367
 Rangerius, bishop of Lucca 61
 Ratescroft, Maud 176-77, 182, 196
 Ratescroft, William 176, 182, 196
 Ravenna 48
 Redall, Robert 368
regidores 232
 Reginar III, count of Hainaut 27, 34
 Reims 28, 31-32
 relics 23, 29-30, 33
 reputation 19, 31, 77, 271, 310-11, 315, 321, 324,
 330
 Richard I, king of England 8, 117-18, 120-21
 Richard II, king of England 272, 275
 Richard III, duke of Gloucester, king of
 England 213, 218-19, 240n59
 Richard, duke of York 163
 Richard, Earl of Warwick 215
 Richer of Reims 27, 34
 Riots of 1391 (Spain) 228
 Robert I, 'the Frisian', count of Flanders 62
 Robert of Gloucester 123
 Rodrigues, Leonor 257
 Rodulfus, court notary 58
 Rojas, María de 346, 348-49, 354
 Roland de Corsena 59-60
see also Corsena family, Hildebrand de
 Corsena, Paganus de Corsena
 Rudolf II, king of Burgundy and Italy 45
 rumor 151, 191, 260, 310
 Ruy Gomez 239n55
 Sacosta, Pere 241
 St. Anne 318
 St. Apollonio, church and monastery at
 Canossa 63
 St. Audoen, Walter de 128
 St. Martin, monastery at Tours 50
 St. Peter, monastery at Pozeuli 60
 St. Pierre, Theophania de 181-82, 191, 196
 St. Pol, Isabella de 169, 176, 178-79, 197

- St. Pol, Marie de, countess of Pembroke 112,
174-75, 179, 181, 189, 191, 197
- Salazar, María de 352
- Salian dynasty 48
- Salinas, María de 346, 348-54
- Samora, Fernando Afonso de 253
- Sancto Martino, Mary de 178, 183, 187-88, 196
- Santarém 254, 258, 260, 265
- Saxony 27, 53
- Scot, John 368n49
- scriptorium 102, 109, 113
- Scoland, Francis de 180-81
- Seabra, Mem Rodrigues de 253
- seal(s) 55-56, 205, 318
- self-fashioning 321, 330
- Sherborne 78, 85-86
- Sicily 241, 288n1, 304
- Sigeferth 77, 88
- Silva, Afonso Gomes da 261
- Siward 84
- Slavonia 53
- solar 105, 108-109
- sorcery
- Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester 143,
155-57
 - as explanation for Henry VI's illness 158
 - Joan of Navarre 156-57, 160
 - Margery Jourdemayne 155
 - Roger Bolingbroke 152-53
- Sousa, Álvaro Dias de 256
- Sousa, Fernão Gonçalves de 257
- Southampton 210
- Southwell, Thomas 152-53
- Stafford, Anne, duchess of Buckingham
370n60
- Stafford, Edward, duke of Buckingham 10,
357-76
- Stafford, Henry, duke of Buckingham 358,
363, 369n55, 370n60
- Stafford, Humphrey, earl of Devon 369n56
- Stanley, Lord Thomas 159, 162, 210
- Sturgeon, John, esquire 206
- Suffolk 180, 217-18, 351
- Suzanne, duchess of Bourbon 309-12, 317,
319-21, 329-30
- Swaffham, manor of 129, 138n87
- Swein Forkbeard, King of Denmark 74
- Sylvester II, pope 47
- Symeon of Durham 122
- Talbot, John, earl of Shrewsbury 213
- Talbot, William 136
- Teles family 248-69
- Gonçalo 255n27, 265
 - Joana 256
 - Maria 250, 254, 256-57, 260, 268
- Telo, João Afonso (brother of Leonor Teles)
249-50, 261
- Telo, João Afonso (uncle of Leonor Teles)
258
- Teodósio, duke of Braganza 393, 395-96,
399-400
- Tewkesbury, battle of 212, 217
- thegn* 26, 77-83, 86, 88
- Theophanu, Empress 6, 44-53, 65
- Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg 48
- Thornbury Castle 10, 360, 363-65, 369-75
- Thurbrand 88, 90-91
- Thuringia 53
- Thurstan, son of Wine 79n29, 82n43
- Thurstan Lustwine 83
- Tomar 265
- Tordesillas 251
- Travel 10, 96, 99, 102-103, 107, 110-11, 115, 121,
135, 160, 162, 177, 188-89, 277, 342, 344,
357-76
- travelling companion (*fere*) 79
- treason 89, 134, 353, 369n55
- Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester 142, 153,
156
- Purstan, chaplain of Thurstan son of Wine
79n29
- treasure, queen's 51-52, 63, 279, 296
- Treaty of Le Goulet (1200) 119
- Treaty of Picquigny 218, 230
- Treaty of Salvaterra de Magos 262
- Trivet, Nicholas 133
- Turberville, Robert 368n48
- Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg 48
- Uhtred, Earl, brother-in-law of Edmund
Ironsides 81, 90
- Ulfcytel 88, 90
- Unión*, Aragonese 235
- Usatges de Barcelona* 232
- Valence family 95
- Agnes de 104

- Valence family (cont.)
 Aymer de 100n18, 101, 103-105, 109, 112, 194, 197
 Beatrice de Clermont-Nesle, wife of
 Aymer 100-104
 Isabelle de 107
 John de Hastings, husband of Isabelle 107
 Valence, Joan de 5, 8, 96-113, 339
 Valence, William de 99-105, 108, 111-12
 Valladolid 251, 342
 Vanegas, Inés de (mother) 346-47, 352, 352
 Vanegas, Inés de (daughter) 346, 348, 352
 Vanegas, María de 346-47
 Vanegas, Teresa de 346-47
 Vasconcelos, Gonçalo Mendes de 265
 Vasques, Leonor 278, 280-81
 Vasques Coutinho, Maria 278
 Vasques Coutinho, Mécia 257, 278-81
 Vasques Coutinha, Teresa 275, 279-80
 Vasques Coutinho, Gonçalo 257, 275, 281-82
 Vasques da Cunha, Fernando 283
 Vasques da Cunha, Gil
 Vaughan, Miles 368
 Vaux Guildford, Jane 353
 Vescy, Isabella de 174, 179, 181, 183, 188-91, 197
 Vere, John de, earl of Oxford 357
 Verney, Sir Raph 217
 Villena, Henrique Manuel 253
 Villiers, Joan 173, 178, 183, 197
 Villiers, Margaret 173, 178, 187, 197
 Violant (Yolande) of Bar, queen-consort of the Crown of Aragon 327
 Virtù (virtue) 321
Vita Anselmi 61
Vita Sancti Oudalrici episcopi Augustini 48
 Vypont, William 134
- Wærferth, bishop of Worcester 24-26
 Wallop, Matthew 129
 Walter Map 36
 Walworth 78n24
 Walwyn, William 369n54
 Wardship 135, 137-38, 181, 214, 216
 Wenlock (town) 215
- Wenlock, John, Lord 214, 217
What the Goodwife Taught her Daughter 146
 Widow 4, 8, 45, 63, 91, 95, 106, 132, 134, 157, 174, 195-97, 256, 258, 275, 280-82, 336, 339
 Widowhood 101, 113, 173
 Catherine of Aragon 338-54
 Joan de Valence 95-113
 Wiliton, Ralph de 123-24, 130, 132
 William, archbishop of Mainz 49
 William of Malmesbury 25, 76
 Willigis, archbishop of Mainz 49
 wills 6, 57, 104, 112, 318
 Athelstan 74-92
 Fernando of Portugal 251, 260, 263
 Leonor Teles of Portugal 251
 Wilmyngton, Matilda de 175
 Winchester 75-76, 91, 129, 210
 Wither 88, 91
 Wolsey, Thomas, cardinal 350
 Wolsin, *cancellarius* 83n54
 Woodville (Wydeville), Anthony, Lord Scales 217-18
 Woodville, Elizabeth, queen-consort of England 154n72, 358
 Woodville, Katherine 358
 Woodville (Wydeville), Richard, Lord and Earl Rivers Worcester, William 123
 Wright, William 368
 Wulfhelm 81n43
 Wulfnoth 89
 Wulfric 75, 82
 Wulfric Spott 82
 Wulfstan, Archbishop of York 77n17, 86-87, 89
 Wykes, Thomas 122
- Yolande of Aragon, queen-consort of Sicily and Jerusalem 323-24, 326-27
 Yolande of France, duchess of Savoy 326
 York 19, 86, 183, 185, 210
 York, Richard, Duke of 163
- Zamora, Fernão Afonso de 266
 Zaragoza 234-35